THE HISTORY OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN KOREA 1832–1910

L. GEORGE PAIK

L. George Paik was born in a farm village in northern Korea. He entered the village school and persued his studies in the Chinese classics. During the Russo-Japanese War, he was sent to a Christian school where he became a Christian. Afterwards he prepared for College at Hugh O'Niel Jr. Academy, Syen Chyun, Korea. Later he went to China and studied at the Tientsin Anglo-Chinese College for several years preparing to go to America. In 1916, Dr. Paik went to America and entered Park College where he received the B. A. degree, majoring in History. Then he went to Princeton University and took the degree of Master of Arts in History and also received the degree of Bachelor of Theology from Princeton Theological Seminary. During the summers of 1925-1926, he studied history and politics in the University of Pennsylvania. Having this preparation, Dr. Paik went to Yale University where he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of History of Religion. Before his return to Korea, he was ordained in the Presbyterian Ministry. Since 1927, he has been Professor of Biblical History and Literature and of Western History in the Chosen Chritian College, and since 1928, the Director of the Literary Department of the College.

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1832-1910

BY

L. GEORGE PAIK, M. A., PH. D.

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TO

MY FRIEND

FRANK D. JOLLY

FOREWORD

In most countries the Protestant missionary enterprise has passed its pioneer stage and fairly large Christian communities have come into existence. With the transition new problems have arisen and some of them are more critical than were any of those faced in the days of beginnings. Can the young churches adapt themselves so successfully to their environment as to cease to seem blatantly foreign and yet preserve their distinctively Christian characteristics and their propagating power? Amid the disintegration that contact with the Occident so often brings can the Church develop the wise leadership and draw on the sources of power which will enable it not only to be a wholesome, constructive factor in the nation's life but to continue to make an indelible and eventually dominant Christian impression upon the newly emerging culture? These and other questions make the years succeeding those in which the foundations were laid crucial in the life of the nation and of the church.

Korea has now reached this stage. Most of the pioneer missionaries have finished their course. A Christian community has appeared which for earnestness, self-support, and zeal in spreading the Faith has few equals and no superiors in what are usually called mission lands. Yet its far-seeing leaders, both Korean and foreign, are keenly aware of the fact that difficult days are ahead and that wise planning and great devotion and faith are required if, in the great changes that are coming upon the nation, the Church is to have the influence that should be expected of it.

If the problems which are just ahead are to be solved it is obvious that the past must be studied. There must be clear understanding of how the Church in Korea came to be what it is, of the reasons for its distinctive institutions, for its strong features and its weaknesses. With this knowledge of its past the Church can more intelligently face its future.

It is fortunate that this story of the past has been recounted by one as well fitted as Dr. Paik. A Korean, he can view the narrative from the angle of those who must now take the lead in solving the problems of the Church. An earnest Christian, in his own spiritual life, the product of the missionaries, he sees with sympathetic understanding the enterprise whose story he is telling. Having obtained much of his education in the United States, the country from which a majority of the missionaries have come, he understands the background of those who led in planting the Faith in Korea. He has gone to the pains of obtaining an excellent training in the methods of Western historians and so has acquired skill in the patient collection and evaluation of material and objectivity in interpretation. As a result, this first serious attempt to tell the story of the beginnings of Protestant activity in Korea is so excellent that the book ought never to need to be undertaken again, and all future writers and students of Christianity in Korea must make themselves familiar with Dr. Paik's work. He has performed his self-assigned task so well that all who are in any way interested in the introduction of Protestantism to Korea must forever be his debtors.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

Yale University
New Haven, Conn.
July 16, 1927

PREFACE

In making this study an attempt has been made, as far as a criticial use of the documentary evidence will allow, to describe and interpret objectively what actually happened in the course of the introduction and expansion of Protestant Christianity in Korea from the beginning to 1910, when the country was annexed to Japan. Protestant Christianity had entered Korea shortly after the country was opened to the residence of Westerners, toward the close of the nineteenth century. When the international intrigue and the coming of the foreigners, especially of the Japanese, shattered the old religious, social, intellectual and political life of the nation, and the forms of modern civilization had not yet claimed the attention of the people, Chrisnianity took root among the humble but substantial agricultual population, who, in their despair and disillusionment over the national humiliation and foreign oppression, turned to the new Faith for spiritual comfort, intellectual advancement, and in some cases for political benefit. The church being the only institution which met their intellectual, social and religious needs, they supported and propagated it, and selected the ablest and wisest to govern it, advancing toward a speedy realization of the goal of missions : self-support, self-extention and the withdrawal of missionaries. An examination, therefore, has been made of the nature of the Christianity that was propagated ; the religious background of the countries from which the Faith was introduced ; the political, social, and intellectual movements connected with the missionary enterprise ; the effect of Protestant Christianity upon the people ; and the extent of the alteration of Christianity by the environment.

This field of study was originally suggested by Prof. D. C. Macintosh, of Yale University. But the study was made under the direction of Prof. K. S. Latourette and worked out as a dessertation in the Department of History of

Religion in the Graduate School of Yale University. Whatever worth it may have is largely due to the assistance, direction and encouragement of the Faculty of the Department.

The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to many individuals and institutions whose helpfulness and kindness have made this study possible. He is specially under obligation for courteous help, in the location and use of materials, to the staff of the Day Missions Library, Yale University ; the Mission Research Library, New York City ; the Library of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, New York ; the Library of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., New York ; the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library ; the Christian Literature Society, Seoul ; and to Dr. A. J. Brown and Mrs. George Heber Jones. Above all, he wishes to make grateful acknowledgment of his great indebtedness to Prof. K. S. Latourette, of Yale University, under whose guidance this study was made ; and from whose article on *The Study of the History of Missions*, as is elsewhere acknowledge, the general plan of this investigation has been adapted. Prof. Latourette also kindly read the manuscript and gave the author most indispensable assistance not only in constant direction and kind criticism, but also in correcting the inescapable errors in English. However, the author alone is responsible for the facts and opinions presented herein.

Printing of a book in the English language in Korea still remains a difficult task. The printers have given very careful attention and exercised unremitting patience, but most of the typesetters do their work in a mechanical way having no knowledge of the language which they compose. And on account of the shortage of type, the book is printed in relays. Furthermore, it was with the printers during one of the busiest times of the author's professional life. There are a large number of typographical mistakes in the book, for which the author wishes to make profound apology.

To the Union Christian College Press, the publisher, and Dr. George S. McCune, the President of the College, very grateful acknowledgment is due. Dr. McCune has kindly undertaken to publish the book as one of the initial enterprises of the College Press. Imperfect though it may be, it is a satisfactory feeling to have the book printed and published in Korea. Great indebtedness must be recorded to Mrs. John F. Genso, Mrs. George S. McCune, and Miss Ella Reynolds, for most painstaking work in connection with the publication of the volume.

L. George Paik

Chosen Christian College,
Seoul, Korea.
June 21, 1929

CONTENTS

		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	Country	4
	The People	7
	History	11
	Religions	16
	Summary	22
	CHAPTER I	
II.	EARLY CONTACT WITH CHRISTIANITY	24
	Introduction	24
	The First Jesuit Missionary	24
	Hendrick Hamel	25
	Catholic Missions	26
	Protestant Missionaries :	38
	Charles Gutzlaff	38
	R. J. Thomas	42
	Alexander Williamson	45
	John Ross	46
	Bible Societies	48
	Summary	51
	CHAPTER II	
III.	THE OPENING OF KOREA, 1876-1884	53
	Introduction	53
	General Conditions in Korea	53
	Korea's Opening to the West	59
	Missionary Movements in America	62
	Missionary Appeals from Japan and China	65
	Conversion of the Korean Students in Japan	69
	Bible Societies	71
	Introduction of the M. E. Mission	73
	Introduction of the Presbyterian Mission	75
	Independent Chinese Missionaries	78
	Summary	80
	CHAPTER III	
IV.	THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MISSIONS, 1885-1890	83
	Introduction	83
	Home Bases of Missions	83
	Missionary Movements in America	87

Founding of the Presbyterian Mission 88
Émeute of December, 1884 91
Missionary Movements in America 99
Founding of the M. E. Mission 102
Founding of the Government Hospital 109
Founding of the M. E. Mission Hospital 114
Beginning of Modern Education in Korea 117
Founding of the Ewha Girls' School 118
Founding of the Pai Chai Boys' School 120
Opening of the Presbyterian Mission Orphanage 121
Beginning of the Presbyterian Mission Girls' School 123
Evangelistic Work 126
Literary Work 133
The Korean Religious Tract Society 138
The Tri-Lingual Press 139
The Translations of the Bible 140
Bible Societies 142
Preaching by Deeds 144
Persecutions 147
Summary of Missionary Policies 149
Summary of Missionary Methods 151
Effect on Environment 152
Effect on Christianity 154
Motives of the Early Converts 155

CHAPTER IV

V. OCCUPATION OF THE FIELD, 1891-1897 158

Introduction 158
General Conditions in Korea 158
Missionary Movements in America 166
Exploration of the Field 167
Itineration 170
Pioneers in Northern Korea 171
New Societies :
The Church of England 173
The Presbyterian Church of Victoria, Australia 175
The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. 177
Independent Missions 179
The Ella Thing Memorial Mission 183
The M. E. Church, South 185
Comity 187
Mission Policies 191

Evangelistic Work in Seoul 192
Evangelistic Work in the Country 193
Training of the Korean Ministry 204
Church Organization 207
Discipline 209
Self-Support 215
Self-Extention 216
Educational Work 217
Medical Work 228
Preaching by Deeds 232
Christian Literature 234
Language Helps 237
The Tri-Lingual Press 237
Hymnology 238
Bible Work 239
"Term" Question 241
Bible Societies 242
Persecutions 243
Conflict with the Roman Catholics 246
Social Outlawry 247
The Tong Hak Sect and Christianity 247
The Korean Christians 248

CHAPTER V

VI. THE RISE OF THE CHURCH, 1897-1906 253

Introduction 253
General Conditions in Korea 253
Evangelistic Work in the Northwest 261
Evangelistic Work in the Northeast 264
The Canadian Presbyterian Mission 265
Evangelistic Work in Central Korea 268
Evangelistic Work of the Southern Methodist Mission 271
Evangelistic Work in the Southeast 273
Evangelistic Work in the Southwest 275
The Anglican Mission 277
Self-Support 278
Self-Propagation 288
The Status of Missionaries 286
The Training Class System 288
Theological Training 291
Self-Government 292
Educational Work in Seoul 296
Educational Work in the Northwest 304

Primary School Work for Boys and Girls 305
Secondary Education 306
The Union Christian College at Pyeng Yang 311
Other Educational Institutions 312
Educational Policies and Criticisms 313
Medical Work 318
Young Men's Christian Association 326
Literary Work 327
Bible Translation 331
Bible Societies 333
Progress Towards Union 335
Dangers and Difficulties 336
Extraterritorial Rights of Missionaries 342
Motives of the Korean Christians 343

CHAPTER VI

VII. THE REVIVAL AND THE GROWTH OF THE CHURCH, 1907-1910 346

Introduction 346
General Conditions in Korea 346
Missionary Developments in the West 349
Evangelistic Work 354
Revival and Its Results 354
Movements toward Union 365
The Division of Territory 369
"The Million Movement" 371
Church Organization 374
Educational Work 378
Theological Schools 388
Other Educational Institutions 389
Criticisms on Educational Work 390
Medical Work 394
Auxiliary Bodies 395
Literary Work 396
The Methodist Publishing House 398
Bible Work 388
Politics and Missionaries 399
Conclusion 403

CHAPTER VII

VIII. CONCLUSION 405

BIBLIOGRAPHY 414
1. Bibliographies 414
2. Official Documents of Governments and Mission Bodies 414
3. Mission Reports 415
4. Reports of Missionary Organizations at the Home Bases 416
5. Voyage Journals 417
6. Contemporary Periodicals published in Korea 417
7. Contemporary Periodicals published at the Home Bases 418
8. Manuscripts 419
9. Secondary Materials 420
Appendices 429
MAP

THE HISTORY OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN KOREA

1832—1910

INTRODUCTION

The world-wide enterprise of Christian missions plays a large part in moulding the history of the world. The influence of the Christian propaganda on human progress is so extensive that it rightly demands careful investigation of students of the history of the world. The history of missions is, therefore, not a newly added theological discipline, but a branch of the science that the new school of history has developed.[1]

History is, in its content, the events which occur as a result of the vital and creative life of the world, and is, historiographically, the description and interpretation of those events in literary form. Protestant missions as such aim not only at the intelligent presentation of the essential character of the Christian religion to non-Christian peoples, but also have the purpose of organizing those who accept their message into self-supporting, self-propagating, self-governing, and self-expressing churches. The study of the history of missions, therefore, inquires into the nature of the Christianity that has been propagated; the processes, the agents, and the methods by which Christianity was introduced; political, commercial, and other movements connected with the missionary enterprise; the effect of Christianity upon the people to whom it has been sent; the extent of the alteration of Christianity by its new environment; and the influence upon the changes both in the people and in Christianity thus

1 S. Mathews, *The Spiritual Interpretation of History*, 2d ed., pp. 215, 216. Cf. J. H. Robinson, *The New History;* H. E. Barnes, *The New History and the Social Studies;* E. C. Moore, *The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World.*

effected, of the conditions under which Christianity has spread, and particularly the missionary methods which have been employed.[2] In view of the fact that the history of missions deals with such a large field of human interest, it forms an important part in the history of the world.

The success of Christian missions in Korea has been so notable that it has been called "One of the marvels of modern history."[3] The rapid growth of the Christian communities, the early naturalization of Christianity in the Korean environment, and the far-reaching influence of the religion on the thought and life of the people, have been a marked achievement. The ancient kingdom is being rebuilt, and "the present-day Korean is awakening under the guiding influence of Western culture and Christian democracy."[4] The Commission on Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World reported to the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910 that in Korea "Christian missions have worked a peaceful revolution."[5] Why and how, within a quarter of a century, such an extensive change was possible is the question of the present investigation, and the causes and course of the transformation form the topic of the following pages. However, care is taken in using the word *missions* not to broaden it into church history nor to narrow it to a single mission in a specific section of the country.

No monograph has been devoted to the story of expansion of Protestant Christianity in Korea. A missionary teacher has recently published a summary volume, *Modern Education in Korea*,[6] and apportioned a large part of it to missionary education from a pedagogic-missionary standpoint. The late Reverend George Heber Jones wrote a course of popular

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2 K. S. Latourette, "The Study of the History of Missions," *The International Review of Missions*, Vol. 14, pp. 108-115.
3 World Missionary Conference, 1910, Report of Commission I, Vol. 1, p. 71.
4 Henry Chung, *The Case of Korea*, p. 37.
5 World Missionary Conference, 1910, Report of Commission I, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
6 H. H. Underwood, *Modern Education in Korea*.

topical lectures on "The Rise of the Church in Korea"[7] which was delivered at Boston University in 1915. The lecturer spoke from his rich personal experience of twenty-four years of mission work in the country, but did not make an attempt at extensive historical research. Besides these volumes, there is a vast amount of literature produced by the missionaries themselves and by the officers of the sending agencies. However, as this was written by men absorbed in the problem of conducting an enterprise on the field, and of keeping a constituency at home in touch with aspects of it that appeal to them, it is necessarily restricted and colored. These documents, however, are rich in information, depicting, as they do, actual first-hand experience. Our present investigation is entirely (that is, as far as materials are available) based on original documents and official reports of the various mission boards and agencies at home, and of missionary groups on the field. It is, therefore, the first attempt to employ the historical method of study in recording the origin and growth of the Protestant Christian movement in Korea. As far as a critical use of the documents will allow, we shall describe and interpret objectively what actually happened.

The present work is confined to the history of the Protestant missions from the time of the sporadic coming of individual missionaries, through the arrival of resident missionaries, the establishment of different missions, the occupation of the field, the growth of the Christian propaganda and the organization of churches, to the year 1910, which marked the termination of the political independence of Korea by its union[8] with Japan. The subsequent developments are left for later treatment.

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7 G. H. Jones, *The Rise of the Church in Korea,* typewritten copy deposited at the Mission Research Library, New York. The substance of these lectures was previously published under the title of "Presbyterian and Methodist Missions in Korea" in the *International Review of Missions,* Vol. I, pp. 412-434.

8 The word *annexation* is more commonly used, but *union* conveys the exact meaning of the original Chinese term used in the text of the Treaty.

THE COUNTRY

In order to understand the environment into which Protestant Christianity was introduced, it is necessary to have an understanding of the physical basis of the life of the people and the religious character of the race. This involves a knowledge of the country itself, its people, its history, and its religions.

Korea is a peninsula projecting southward out of the northeastern corner of the Asiatic mainland, at a point where China and Russian Siberia meet, and separates the Yellow and Japan Seas. It covers about ten degrees of latitude, extending from 43°36″ to 33°6′40″ north, and more than six of longitude, from 124°11″ to 130°50′23″ east. It has an area of 85,156.40 square miles. In length it is about 660 miles, with an average width of 130 miles. Its eastern shores are washed respectively by the Sea of Japan and the Yellow Sea, the southern extremity is separated from the coasts of Japan by the Korean Strait, and its northern boundary is formed by the Tuman and Yalu rivers. Along the western coast are many islands.

Korea is situated at the heart of the Far East. It separates China, Russia, and Japan, and connects them. It is at once a protecting shield to China, Russia's outlet to the Pacific Ocean, and Japan's bridge to the Asiatic mainland. In time of war, it is a battle ground. In both the Sino-Japanese war of 1894 and the Russo-Japanese war of 1904, the peninsula was the prize which was fought for. In time of peace in the Orient, it is the highway of civilization and culture. Through Korea, Buddhism found its way to Japan. While the Koreans learned much from China, Japan drew from them the arts of peace and good-will.[9]

Korea is a mountainous country. The main range runs through the entire length of the peninsula from Paik-tu-san (White Head Mountain) in the north to Han-la-san in the

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9 Cf. F. Brinkley, *A History of the Japanese People*, Chapters 9-13, pp. 76-130.

south, on the isle of Quelpart. Both Paik-tu-san and Han-la-san are extinct volcanoes with water-filled craters which form lakes of great beauty. The Diamond Mountains on the east, famous for majestic grandeur, Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop, a well-known world traveler, describes as "not much exceeded anywhere on earth."[10] There are no large rivers. The Yalu, the longest of them, flows from Paik-tu-san into the Korean Bay on the Yellow Sea and is navigable only about sixty miles from its mouth. The Tuman river, rising from the same mountain and flowing northeasterly, empties into the Gulf of Peter the Great in the Japan Sea. The Taitong river empties into the Yellow Sea at Chinnampo, only eighty miles from the Chinese port Chefoo. The Han river, which almost bisects the peninsula, rises in the Diamond Mountain ranges and also empties into the Yellow Sea, at Chemulpo. The Keum river forms the boundary line between Chun-la and Chung Chyong Provinces and drains into the Yellow Sea at Kunsan or Basil's Bay. The Naktong river in the south flows into the Strait of Korea, and is navigable for about one hundred miles.

The climate of Korea is one of the best in the world, that of the north temperate zone. It is pleasant and healthful during the greater part of the year. The extremes of temperature range from 9 degrees below zero to 98 degrees above. During the winter ice forms on the rivers and snow falls in limited quantities. One of the peculiarities of the climate of Korea is the existence of the rainy season. The prevailing southeast summer wind brings the moisture from the warm ocean current that strikes Japan from the south, and precipitates it over nearly the whole of the peninsula. A distinct rainy season results, lasting most of July and August. This rainy season plays an important part in the national prosperity, for sufficient rainfall is necessary for a good harvest.

From time immemorial, the chief industry of the Korean people has been agriculture. The staple crop is rice, which is produced in large quantities. Wheat, barley, millet, beans,

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10 I. B. Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, p. 144.

and potatoes are also extensively raised. Cotton, upon which for many centuries the people have depended for clothing, is now grown to a large extent, while silk-culture is rapidly increasing. Korea has always produced more grain than her population could consume, and when scientific methods of farming are applied she will be able to maintain a larger population than she now has.[11]

The mineral resources of Korea are not meager. Gold, silver, copper, iron, graphite, and chalk have been found, some of them in extensive deposits. The value of the output of minerals in 1922 amounted to 14,503,781 Yen.[12]

The country possesses a very fine breed of cattle, but inferior ones of pigs and horses or ponies. Poultry, pigeons, ducks, and geese are abundant, while, through the winter months, the countryside is alive with pheasants and wild ducks. The waters are well stocked with fish, the fisheries of Korea forming an important asset in the national wealth. In 1922 the value of marine products amounted to 73,960,000 Yen.[13]

Korea has not been a commercial nation, although she has a coast line of over 10,700 miles,[14] including islands and numerous harbors which favor coast-wise trade and foreign commerce. Some of the best harbors are Songjin and Wonsan in the east, Fusan and Masanpo in the south, and Mokpo, Kunsan, Chemulpo, and Chinnampo in the west.

The census of 1925 gives Korea a total population of 19,519,927.[15] The bulk of it is agricultural, living in small villages which are thickly scattered throughout the country. The Korean people have very little liking for city life. Outside of Seoul, the capital, with a population of about 300,000, there are no really large urban centers. Fusan in the south, Pyeng Yang in the northwest, with populations of less than 75,000, are the second largest cities, while Taiku in the south,

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11 "The total value of the crop in 1919 amounted to about 1,380,000,000 Yen, of which over 160,000,000 Yen was exported "—Annual Report on Reforms and Progress in Chosen (1918-21), p. 102.
12 Annual Report on Administration of Chosen, 1922-1923, p. 132.
13 *Ibid*, p. 124.
14 Annual Report on Reforms and Progress in Chosen for 1921, p. 111.
15 The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1927, p. 638.

Songdo in the Metropolitan Province, each having a population of less than 50,000, rank next in size.

Means of communication range from the sedan chair to the automobile. The railway system of 1,189 miles,[16] which, besides branch lines, connects the Imperial Japanese railways with the Trans-Siberia railroad, is well located. There are some well paved roads. Telegraph and telephone systems facilitate communication.

THE PEOPLE

No one is able to speak of the origin and the character of the Korean race as authoritatively as of the country. The origin and ethnical relationships of the Korean people are as yet an unsolved problem. Ethnologists are baffled by the question and the Koreans themselves are not certain as to the origin of their ancestors. E. T. Hamy, a French anthropologist classified the Koreans in three groups: first, the northern type, which resembles their Mongol (Tungus) neighbors; second, the natives of the southern provinces and descendants of the ancient three Hans, showing Japanese affinities; and third, the inhabitants of the inner provinces who present a transitional form between the northern and southern types.[17]

Professor A. H. Keane, a British ethnologist, following the study of Hamy, declares: "As the true Polynesiana, i. e., the Indonesians, belong physically to the Caucasic division, Hamy's view accords very well with the newly established fact that Caucasic features—light eyes, large nose, hair often brown, full board, fair and even white skin, tall statu re—are conspicuous, especially amongst the upper classes and many of the southern Koreans....[18] The Koreans are now known

16 The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1927, p. 638.
17 A. H. Keane, *Man, Past and Present*, p. 302.
18 V. de Saint—Martin, another authority on the subject, declares on this juxtaposition of yellow and blond types in Korea as follows: "Cette dualité de type, un type tout à fait caucasique à côté du type mongol, est un fait commun à toute la ceinture d'îles qui couvre les côtes orientales de l'Asie, depuis les Kouriles jusqu'à Formose, et même jusqu'à la zone orientale de l'Indo-Chine." Quoted by Keane in *ibid.*, p. 303.

to be a mixed race, the Mongol element dominating in the north, as might be expected, and the Caucasic in the south. These conclusions seem to be confirmed by what is known of the early movements, migrations, and displacements of the populations in northeast Asia about the dawn of history. The people now called Koreans appear first in the twelfth century B. C., when the peninsula was already occupied, as it still is, by Mongols, the Sien-pi, in the north, and in the south by several branches of the Hans (Sam-Han). It is recorded of the Hans that they spoke a language unintelligible to the Sien-pi and resembled the Japanese in appearance, manners, and customs. From this it may be inferred that the Hans were the true aborigines, probably direct descendants of the Caucasic people of the New Stone Age,[19] while the Sien-pi were Mongolic (Tungusic) intruders from the present Manchuria.[20] However, as Professor Dixon declares, "The Korean is still uncertain in its affiliation."[21]

When we attempt to form an intelligent conception of the characteristics of the Korean race, we are confronted by widely divergent views. Travelers and hasty visitors characterize the Koreans very contemptuously, while long-resident missionaries and careful observers speak of them highly. George Kennan, a newspaper correspondent, says: "They (Koreans) are not only unattractive and unsympathetic to a Westerner who feels no spiritual interest in them, but they appear more and more to be lazy, dirty, unscrupulous, dishonest, incredibly ignorant, and wholly lacking in the self-respect that comes from a consciousness of individual power and worth. They are not undeveloped savages; they are the

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19 Homer B. Hulbert believes the early settlers of southern Korea were the Dravidian peoples of southern India. He supports this contention by a comparative study of the linguistic affinities of Korea to the Dravidian dialects.—H. B. Hulbert, *A Comparative Grammar of the Korean Language and the Dravidian Dialects of India*. Cf. H. B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, pp. 28, 29.

20 A. H. Keane, *op. cit.*, pp. 303, 304.

21 R. B. Dixon, *The Racial History of Man*, p. 285.

rotten product of the decayed Oriental civilization."[22] The late Professor George T. Ladd, of Yale University, after his visit to Korea at the invitation of the late Marquis Ito in 1907, wrote: "They (Koreans) are undoubtedly fond of their ease and even slothful—for man when not stimulated by hope or necessity is naturally a lazy animal— as the impression from the rows of coolies and peasants squatted upon the ground and sucking their pipes, or lying prone in the sunlight, during the working hours of the day, bears witness....[23] The Korean, when angry, is recklessly cruel and entirely careless of life....[24] As to business honesty or respect for property rights, as such, there is none of it among the people of Korea"....[25]

The other side of the characterization of the Korean people is also pictured by many writers. Professor Homer B.

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22 G. Kennan, "The Korean People," *The Outlook*, Vol. 81, Oct, 21, 1905, pp. 409, 410. In commenting upon Kennan's article in the *Outlook* which is quoted here, the late American Minister to Korea, the Honorable Horace N. Allen wrote from Boston to Baron Yun Tchi Ho, in Korea, under date of November 30, 1905: "That man Kennan wrote the most abominable article on Korea in one of our leading magazines and it seems as though every one whom I know had read it. He was probably working for a Japanese decoration." —The Allen Papers, New York Public Library.

23 G. T. Ladd, *In Korea with Marquis Ito*, p. 290.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 293.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 295. When Professor Ladd returned to the United States, he gave an interview to newspapers charging the missionaries in Korea with meddling with the politics, and speaking freely about the basic character of the Korean Christians. Some of the leading foreign mission board secretaries had an interview with the Professor on the politico-missionary situation in Korea and the character of the Korean Christians. An authorized copy of the interview with Dr. Ladd by the mission board secretaries was sent out to missionaries in Korea, requesting them to express their candid opinions on Professor Ladd's views. Scores of answers came back from Korea missionaries. We will quote but one of these, in order to show the other side. Professor E. H. Miller, of the Presbyterian mission, stationed in Seoul, wrote to Dr. Arthur J. Brown, under date of February 19, 1908: "Altogether the attitude he [Prof. Ladd] assumed while here was in no way calculated to the acquiring of first hand information concerning things Korean. His position as guest to the government de facto offered no inducements to Korea missionaries to seek him for his enlightenment in things of interest to us, for he came not to us and to our work but to see what the Japanese were preparing for him to see. Prejudice, you'll call it, but that's the way we saw his mission."—The Korea Information Papers, Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, New York.

Hulbert, formerly an American educator, after his stay of over twenty years in Korea, says concerning the people: "They are overshadowed by China on the one hand in respect of numbers, and by Japan on the other in respect of wit. They are neither good merchants like the one nor good fighters like the other, and yet they are far more like Anglo-Saxons in temperament than either, and they are by far the pleasantest people in the Far East to live amongst."[26] Professor Joseph K. Goodrich, sometime Professor in the Imperial College, Kyoto, Japan, says: "In temperament the Korean stands midway between the rather phlegmatic Chinese and the positively sanguine Japanese. One must not measure the Korean's character by what is first seen, an appearance of unthrift, carelessness, and narrowness. He is both cool-headed and hot-headed. He can reason calmly, but he can also act at white heat. In these he seems to be rather like the Anglo-Saxon."[27] A very recent visitor to Korea, Professor Ellsworth Huntington of Yale University, referring to his experience with an educated Korean, states: "As I talked with him, and with others of his type, I had the same feeling of mental kinship that I had with the wide-awake Japanese scientist and business man with whom I had already been associating."[28]

Mental characteristics of a race cannot be determined by opinions alone, however fair they may be. The acquired characteristics of a people are the result of biological inheritance, physical environment, and cultural development. Social, religious, political, and commercial institutions, and all the other phases of the complex machinery of civilization, profoundly affect racial character. The study of these factors is assigned to other branches of learning. It will suffice to state that the highly developed ancient civilization of Korea had reached its lowest ebb, when she was opened to the West. The government was an absolute monarchy with a well-

26 H. B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, *op. cit.*, preface.
27 J. K. Goodrich, *Our Neighbor: The Japanese*, pp. 244, 245. Cf. Hulbert, *op. cit*, p. 31.
28 E. Huntington, *West of the Pacific*, p. 97.

intentioned but weak king at its head, and its machinery was officered by selfish, corrupt, and intriguing ministers. Most of these men were not only lacking in moral fiber but were destitute of every good principle of decent politics. The social organization tended toward the common center, the king, and there was very little local organization except what was necessary to bring the people under official rule. The existence of a profound distinction between the patrician class and the common people steeped the former in false pride, sham, self-conceit, and everything that is vague and vain, while it robbed the latter of ambition and the incentive for bettering its condition. The age-old custom of ancestor worship intensified the natural desire of man for children, especially for male offspring, led the people to immoral living, and assigned womanhood to a low position. Economically, the country was poor, in debt, and bankrupt. The country was in dire need of progressive, wholesome, and energetic spirit of life.

HISTORY[29]

The history of Korea is like that of her ancient and mighty neighbor China. The more or less authentic annals of Korea stretch far back into the centuries before the Christian era, while legends extend still farther back to the year 2332 B. C It is believed that the mystical king Tangun descended from Heaven and formed the Kingdom of Chosun and assumed sovereignty, fixing his capital at the ancient city of Pyeng Yang. Prehistoric remains, like the great stone "Altar of Heaven" on the mountain top of Ma-ri-san in the island of Kangwha, are still connected with the memory of this mythical founder.

But it is to King Keui-ja that the Korean people trace their early civilization. Keui-ja is said to have been a refugee from China at the time of the fall of the Shang dynasty. The

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29 H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea; idem, The Passing of Korea;* J. H. Longford, *The Story of Korea.*

story is that he was asked to take office under the regime, but refused, and migrated to Korea with five thousand followers in 1122 B. C. Whether the colonizers came by sea or land is not known ; but upon his arrival Keui-ja settled at Pyeng Yang and called the land Chosun, or the land of Morning Freshness. He is said to have brought with him artisans of every kind and to have begun a peaceful reign, making special laws for the civilizing of the people. The dynasty founded by Keui-ja appears to have lasted for nearly a thousand years, extending to the second century before Christ.

The entire peninsula, however, was not peopled by one homogeneous race and ruled by one scepter. From the first century B. C. the land was held by three independent kingdoms, Ko-ku-Ryu in the north, Paik-Chei in the southwest, and Silla in the southeast. After some centuries of mutual independence and internecine strife, Paik-Chei and Ko-ku-Ryu disappeared, and practically the entire country, as we know it now, was unified in the seventh century A. D. under the sway of the king of Silla. The conquering kingdom was the most highly civilized of the three. It was an eminently peaceful power, and devoted more attention to the arts of civilization than of war. In mechanical and industrial skill its people were so advanced that one of the largest bells in the world was cast and an astronomical observatory was built. Both of these relics of the ancient civilization of Silla can still be seen at Kyung-Ju, the ancient capital. It was the language, the law, and the civilization of Silla that welded the Koreans into a homogeneous people and laid the foundation for modern Korea.

The Sillan unification was a turning point in the annals of the Korean people ; the whole peninsula was united under a single control ; the people began to feel their own power ; the nation was in a formative period. At about this time there began an influx of Chinese ideas. There can be no question about the great debt which Korea owes to China, but it cost her a great price. The introduction of the finished product of an ancient civilization took away all incentive for

personal effort, and the overloading of the Korean mind with Chinese ideas resulted in intellectual and creative stagnation. Glorification of the past stamped on the mind of the race what seems to be inherent conservatism.

The end of Silla and the founding of the Ko-Ryu dynasty marks the beginning of the medieval history of Korea. In 918 the new kingdom established its capital at Songdo and inaugurated a different regime. There seems to have been some reaction against Chinese ideas. The rise and fall of Buddhism during the dynasty offers an interesting field for the study of the union of religion and politics. One of the historic events in the middle ages was the invasion of the Mongols. Just as one of the motives, if not the chief motive, of the Japanese invasion of Korea under Hideyoshi in the sixteenth century was the desire for the conquest of China, so the Mongol invasion of Korea by the world conquerors had as its object the conquest of Japan.[30] The Mongols led their victorious army across the Yalu river and so terrified the country that from 1232 to 1270 the capital was removed to Kangwha. However, when in 1260 Kubilai came to the Dragon Throne, he inaugurated a conciliatory policy toward Korea. He withdrew all troops from the country, sent home all prisoners of war, and restored the old capital Songdo. In 1271 A. D. the Korean crown prince married a Mongol princess, a daughter of Kubilai, and in 1274 the princess came to Korea to sit on Korea's throne beside her king. In 1282, when the king and queen of Korea were visiting the great Kubilai at Peking, the famous Venetian, Marco Polo, who was in China from 1275 to 1282, was there, but there is no indication that Polo had any knowledge of the daughter of the great Khan and the land over which she was the queen.[31]

The history of the last century of the Ko Ryu dynasty is that of swift decay and fall. Toward the end of the fourteenth century, the reigning king was infamous and Buddhist

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30 H. B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, p. 84.
31 J. S. Gale, "A History of the Korean People," Ch. 20, *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 22, No. 2, Feb. 1926, p. 26.

intriguers virtually ruled the land by corruption and immorality. To make the situation worse, the country was overrun by Hong Dus or "Red Heads," invaders from the wilds of Manchuria. The man of the hour at this perilous time was Yi Sung Kei, the founder of the next dynasty.

The modern history of Korea dates from the beginning of the Yi dynasty in 1392, just a century before Columbus discovered the new world. Yi Sung Kei, or Yi Tai Jo, took possession of the government and became the first king of a dynasty which lasted until August of 1910, when Korea was united with Japan. The new dynasty inaugurated a great reform program. The cardinal principle of the new government was the eradication of the baneful influence of Buddhism. Yi Sung Kei moved the capital from Songdo, the seat of Buddhistic domination, to Han Yang which is better known by the Korean word for capital, Seoul. A new government was organized with men of non-Buddhist faith. There was, however, no severe persecution. It must be borne in mind that Buddhism was objected to not as a religion, but as a political agency. Buddhists were allowed to remain in the land, though they were not permitted to reside in the new capital. The decline of Buddhism was accompanied by a revival of Confucianism, which was aided by the friendly relations with China. Celebrated scholars, wise kings, and famous literati flourished. King Tai Jong (1401-1419) directed his ministers to found movable metal type[32] and great literary works were published. King Sei-Jong (1419-

32 As to the date of the invention of movable type, there is some disagreement among authorities. Dr. J. S. Gale gives the year of 1232 A. D., for that year, when the capital was moved to Kangwha, Yi Kyo-bo had, of his own accord, twenty-eight sets of the books of Ceremony printed by movable type, as his record clearly reads today."—"A History of the Korean People," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 22, No. 5, May 1926, p. 110. Prof. T. F. Carter says: "The first mention of a type foundry is in 1392, the very year the new dynasty was started. The Korean annals for this date contain the statement: 'A department of books was established, which had as its responsibility the casting of type and the printing of books."—*The Inventing of Printing in China*, p. 170. Mr. E. Satow gives the year 1403.—"Further Notes on Movable Type in Korea and Early Japanese Printed Books," Trans. of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 10, Pt. 2, pp. 253—260.

1450), who succeeded Tai Jong, placed the people under a great debt of gratitude by inventing and encouraging the use of the Korean alphabet, as a substitute for and auxiliary to Chinese characters. Buddhist monasteries were transformed into Confucian school-houses. The whole country entered on an era of prosperity and progress.

The middle of the sixteenth century witnessed the rise of political parties in Korea. Many Confucian scholars held office in the government and exerted great influence throughout the country. These scholars had differences of opinion on governmental principles and were committed to certain political policies. Party struggle and factional fights followed. This retrogression was followed in 1592 by Japanese invasion under Hideyoshi. This war, declares David Murray, formerly the Adviser to the Minister of Education of the Japanese Government, was "A chapter in the history of Japan on which her best friends can look back with neither pride nor satisfaction."[33] The Koreans fought bravely against the Japanese. At last, with the aid of the Chinese, they succeeded in driving back the invaders. The Korean admiral, Yi Soon Sin, invented the first iron-clad[34] warship and commanded it effectively against the Japanese during the naval engagement in the waters of southern Korea. However, the loss of life was so great, the devastation of the fairest and the most fertile portion of the land was so extensive, and the destruction of national treasures so vast, that Korea never completely recovered from the disaster. All this untold amount of misery and suffering served no purpose except to seal Korea hermitically against Japan and other nations for nearly three centuries, and to intensify the hatred of the Koreans for the Japanese.

The fortunes of Korea went from bad to worse. During the initial contest between the Mings and Manchus over the Dragon Throne of China, the Koreans supported the Mings. But they had placed their bet on the wrong side. In 1627,

33 David Murray, *The Story of Japan*, p. 221.
34 H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea*, Vol. I, p. 376 ; J. H. Longford, *The Story of Korea*, pp. 168, 169.

while Korea had yet a rebellion in hand, the long-dreaded Manchurian invasion took place. At the end of the war the Manchu prince and the Korean king swore everlasting friendship, after the manner of the three famous heroes of the three ancient kingdoms of China, immolating a black bullock and a white horse,[35] burning incense in the presence of Heaven and earth, and contracting blood brotherhood to maintain peace and to succor each other in all mutual dangers. When Korea entered into the family of nations, the nature of Korea's relation to China was a puzzle to Western nations. Perhaps the most unbiased Western scholar who made a study of the subject was William W. Rockhill, who wrote: "Korean traditions point to Ki Tsu, or Viscount of Ki, a noble of China during the reign of Chou-hsin of the Shang Dydasty (B. C. 1154-1122), as the founder of the present civilization of Korea in B. C. 1122, and through him Korea claims relationship with China, to which country Koreans say they stand in the same relation of subjection as a younger brother does to an elder one and head of the family. This peculiar form of subservience, based as it is on Confucian theories, which have shaped all Chinese and Korean society and made the people of those countries what they are, must never be lost sight of in studying Korea's relations with and to China."[36]

RELIGION

It has often been said that Korea is a land without a religion.[37] This observation of the early visitors to Korea was, perhaps, due to the fact that when Christianity entered the land, all ancient faiths were in a state of decay. There was no one distinct and controlling religion. As in the ancient Roman world,[38] there was a tendency toward syncretism.[39]

35 Cf. H. Doré, *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, trans. by M. Kennelly, Vol 5, p. 497, Vol. 6, pp. 74, 75.

36 W. W. Rockhill, *China's Intercourse with Korea from the XVth Century to 1893*, p. 3.

37 W. E. Griffis, *Korea, Without and Within*, 2d ed., p. 161; L. J. Miln, *Quaint Korea*, p. 226; P. Lowell, *Chosen: the Land of the Morning Calm*, p. 182.

38 A. Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, trans. by J. Moffatt, 2d ed., Vol. I, p. 22.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

To all who conceived religion in terms of dogma and ecclesiasticism, it was incomprehensible that the Korean was religious. Yet while the Korean gave few outward indications of being religious, he has never been without a deep-rooted conviction of the presence of spiritual beings.[40]

The religious life of the Korean people manifests itself in three faiths. There is, first of all, Shamanism, a form of animistic nature worship consisting of a universal worship and fear of spirits; secondly, there is Buddhism; and thirdly, the practice of the teachings of Confucianism.

Shamanism, or spirit worship, is the most ancient and universally followed form of religious belief. It comprises a vast number of gods, demons, and demi-gods, the legacy of centuries of nature worship. Imagination has peopled earth, air, and sea with supernatural beings whose multiplicity makes them ubiquitous and whose powers for good or evil demand worship. An intelligent Korean would maintain that he does not worship the material object, but the inner spiritual presence. He may also apologize for the moral instruction in ceremonial cleanliness. But for the average Korean his worship is an expression of fear. He prays for personal benefits and for relief from trouble, but is little concerned with moral character. This worship of spirits dwarfs and debases the moral nature, and the dread espionage of creation fills the hearts of the people with fear.

An adequate description of this belief is almost an impossible task, for it is formless, documentless, and without system. There are numberless oral traditions concerning demons and spirits, the future of man, and the constitution of the spiritual world. A French scholar made an initial study of the religion, but his contribution is meager.[41] The best information on the subject is in the excellent work of Henry Doré, who has been publishing a series of volumes under the general title of *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*. Practi-

40 J. S. Gale, "The Korea's View of God," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 12, No. 3, March 1926, pp. 66-70; J. Ross, *History of Corea*, p. 355.

41 Emile Bourdaret, *Religion et Superstition en Corée*. Société d'Anthropologie de Lyon, Séance du 5 Dec. 1903.

cally all the superstitions which Doré describes are either practiced by or known to the Koreans. With certain additions and subtractions this monumental work forms the best material for the study of Shamanism.[42]

Buddhism was introduced in 372 during the time of the three kingdoms by way of China. A monk by the name of Sundo was the Buddhist apostle sent by Fu-Kien,[43] a monarch of the Chin dynasty, in 372. Sundo was received kindly by the king of Ko Ku Ryu at Pyeng Yang. Under the royal patronage Buddhism become popular and for nearly fifteen hundred years was a dominant faith. In its early days, when conviction was sufficiently strong to inspire its devotees with missionary zeal and ardor, it was propagated widely not only in the peninsula but in Japan. It gradually extended its sway until in the latter years of the Ko Ryu dynasty it became the greatest political and intellectual force in the nation. The devotees built many great temples and monasteries and accumulated extensive libraries.[44] But the Buddhist priesthood became corrupt through prosperity and gradually cast aside their religious character and entered politics. Priests thronged the courts and council halls of the monarch, administered the great offices of the realm, marshalled armies in time of war, and eventually placed the offspring of a priest on the throne.[45]

The effect of the Buddhist priest-ridden politics upon the people was demoralizing and disastrous. The blackest pages of the history of Buddhism were in the waning years of the Ko Ryu dynasty. The tenets of the cult, among them chastity, abstinence, and self-abnegation, were flagrantly violated.

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42 H. Doré, *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, trans. by M. Kennelly, Vol. 1-8.

43 E. A. Gordon, *Some Recent Discoveries in Korean Temples and Their Relationship to Early Eastern Christernity*, Trans. Korean Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Vol 5, Pt. 2, p. 14; J. S. Gale, "A History of the Korean People." *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 21, No. 4, April 1925, p. 74; T. K. Kwun, "Changing Aspects of the Korean Buddhism," *The Chung Chun* (青春), No. 8, p. 28. However, Frederick Starr dates the introduction of Buddhism into Korea as early as 369 A. D.—*Korean Buddhism*, p. 4.

44 F. Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-42.

45 H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea*, Vol. I, pp. 165-280.

The monasteries became great sores and tainted all society with a moral rottenness. As Buddhism had exchanged its religious field for a political one, so the reformation which nearly annihilated it in Korea was primarily political. One of the earliest reforms administered under the founder of the Yi dynasty was the cleansing of the augean stable. Buddhism fell into disgrace, its priests were exiled from the capital city, and by the nineteenth century only a few of its monasteries remained and it had little hold on the people.

It ought to be mentioned at this point that there are scholars who believe in "the remarkable evidence of early Christianity in Korea prior to, as well as synchronous with, the Patriarch Nestorius of Constantinople, whom the Council of Ephesus condemned for heresy A. D. 431."[46] Such a statement at once arouses our curiosity. It is, however, only another form of the well-known contention that the northern form of Buddhism, which is also the Buddhism of Korea, called Mahayana, "the Great Vehicle," is an early form of Christianity which had incorporated with itself many non-Christian elements in the course of its spread in Asiatic countries.[47] In a word, the argument is that the Buddhism which Sundo brought into Korea was a diluted form of Christianity. Madam E. A. Gordon has presented plausible "proofs" of "the remarkable Evidence," and a Japanese scholar following[48] Madam Gordon supports her arguments.[49] The late Reverend Timothy Richard observed the similarity between the two religions and made a study of Korean Buddhism,[50] but discovered no new facts. Professor Frederick Starr, an American anthropologist, who is also considered an authority on the Korean Buddhism, ignored

46 E. A. Gordon, *Some Recent Discoveries in Korean Temples and Their Relationship to Early Eastern Christianity,* Trans. Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 5, Pt. 1, pp. 1-39.

47 T. Richard and Y. W. Hwui, *The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana Doctrine;* T. Richard, *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism.*

48 P. T. Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China,* p. ix.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 181. The name of the monk Jundo which Saeki gives is the Japanese for Sundo in Korean. Cf. E. A. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

50 T. Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China,* p. 342.

this important point,[51] though he acknowledged his careful study of Madam Gordon's article.[52] The whole controversy is summarized by Professor K. S. Latourette as follows: "Many of its [Mahayanan] doctrines came so strangely to resemble Eastern and Roman Catholic Christianity that early Roman missionaries could account for the likeness only on the ground of malicious imitation by the devil. In later years scholars have attempted to trace a historical connection between Christianity and Buddhism, and have proved that during the early Christian centuries there was some contact between the two. There was commerce between India and the Roman Orient; the widespread Manichaeism was a mixture of Christian, Persian, and Buddhist teaching; and Nestorian missionaries were to be found in Central Asia. Just how much Buddhism and organized Christianity owe to each other, however, has yet to be finally determined."[53]

CONFUCIANISM

No study has yet been made of the introduction of Confucianism into Korea. The founder of the Chosun dynasty, Keui Ja, is said to have brought with him an important section of the Canon of History known as "The Great Plan,"[54] and to have made this the basic law of the state. Intercourse of scholars between China and Korea was frequent through the succeeding centuries. As far as we know, the first Korean scholar who studied abroad was Choi Chi Won, who went to China in 875. Choi sojourned in Chang An, now Hsi An Fu, the capital of the T'ang dynasty. He reached Chang An about a century after the erection of the famous Nestorian Monument,[55] and returned to Korea in 885, after having been abroad for ten years. He imported the Chinese classics into Korea and became the father of Korean literature.

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51 F. Starr, *Korean Buddhism*. However, Starr noted certain doctrinal similarities between the Mahayana Buddhism and Christianity without confirming Madam Gordon's conclusions (pp. 51, 52).
52 *Ibid.*, pp. viii and 97.
53 K. S. Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, 2d ed., p 22.
54 *The Shu King*, Bk. 5, pt 6.
55 "Ch'oi Ch'i Won," *The Korea Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 1, Jan. 1917, p. 13.

During the palmy days of Buddhism under the Ko Ryu dynasty, Confucianism was neglected. Not until the Yi dynasty was installed on the Plum Flower Throne (1392) was Confucianism made the state religion and its classics the basis of appointment to office. Loyalty to the king, faithfulness to friends, conjugal fidelity, and fraternal love are inculcated as the cardinal virtues. Above all, filial piety is emphasized as being the root of all moral principles. Ancestor worship, which can be called a religion in itself, is the result of extending filial piety to the dead.

For the last five hundred years Confucianism has had unlimited sway over the mind and heart of the Korean. What Korea might have been without it, nobody can tell. We know, however, that it did not prevent the oppression of the masses, general poverty, the treachery and corruption of officialdom, and degradation of womanhood, which were so characteristic of Korea in the last century. There was much that was splendid and admirable in Confucianism at its best. As practiced in Korea, however, it had many deplorable results: it nourished pride, it taught no higher ideal than that of a superior man, and was agnostic and atheistic in its tendency; it encouraged selfishness, exalted filial piety to the position of the highest virtue and made this hide a multitude of sins; and it imbued every follower with a hunger for office which resulted in simony and sinecure. Religiously, the system taught nothing that goes beyond what is known and seen. Consequently it avoided philosophical speculation; it enfeebled or destroyed the faculty of faith, for its doctrine required no exercise of belief.[56]

However, it should be remembered that it was Confucianism that formed the character of the people and shaped the course of the ancient civilization of Korea. Korea accepted the imported system and made it part of the bone and fiber of the people. In turn, Confucianism made distinctive contributions to the development of Korea. Confucius himself gave little light on the problems of God, soul, and im-

56 Cf. "Confucianism in Korea," *The Korean Repository* for Sept. 1895, pp. 401-404.

mortality. Chu Hsi, long the accepted exponent of Confucian doctrine, identified God with Reason and Law. Profound as his philosophy is, he tended to rule out a personal God. Korean Confucianists discovered a personal God. Yi Whang, better known as the Master Toi Kei, spoke earnestly of the "Love of God."[57] Another distinguished follower of Chu Hsi, Yi Choon Kyeng, believed in a personal God as a source of life and held the idea of an overruling Providence.[58] The saint Yi I, or Master Yulgok, following the great master Toi Kei, discovered a personal God through nature.[59] These are interesting additions to the philosophy of Confucianism.[60]

These three religions, Shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, are the prevalent ones. Animistic nature worship, hero-worship, spirit-worship,a nd fetish-worship, which lie at the root of Shamanism, appeal to the hearts of the masses, but inspire fear and awe, and have made the Korean superstitious. Buddhism offered to the Korean people its "benevolent and thoughtful-looking divinities," who met their wants both in the present life and in the next. It appealed to the imagination and inspired admiration by its subtle arguments. With temples, priests, and sacred writings, it made the Korean religious. Confucianism, with its ethical codes, has made the cultured man, the citizen, but has developed little of the spiritual element in the heart of the people. Strange as it may seem, for the masses of the people these three cults have been syncretized. With the exception of the few strict orthodox devotees of these religions, no one adheres to any one in such a manner as to lead him to look upon the cults as mutually incompatible. As a result, the average Korean takes his religious ceremonies from ancestor worship, seeks the efficacy of Buddhistic prayers, devoutly bows his head at

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57 J. S. Gale, "A History of the Korean People," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 22, No. 9, Sept. 1926, p. 191.
58 *Ibid.*, Vol. 22, No. 8, Aug. 1926, p. 163.
59 *Ibid.*, Vol 22, No. 10, Oct 1926, pp. 222-224.
60 The Japanese scholars have already made some study of Toi-Keism —E. S. Park, *The Tragic History of Korea*, p. 187.

the shrine of mountain demons, and recites Confucian classics.[61]

To the superficial observer, this religious syncretism seems to reveal the lack of a critical sense in the Korean people which would urge them to inquire into evidence for truth, and the lack of strong religious conviction. This can be explained by the fact that the average Korean is largely guided by selfish interest and seeks in all three religions that which meets his want. Superstition may be another reason,—more divinities bring more blessings. And above all, electicism, an idea that truth may be found by combining different beliefs, has played a large part in this phenomenon. However, this syncretism has a deeper significance: it is a sign of the demand for a universal religion which can offer all that other religions can offer,—the high ethical and moral standard of Confucianism, the religious inspiration of Buddhism, and the mysteries of life and death and of the spiritual world of Shamanism. On the surface, the religious syncretism of the Korean people may seem an indication of a total indifference and undue tolerance toward religion, but examined more closely it shows a religious hunger.

61 H. B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea,* pp. 403, 404.

CHAPTER I

EARLY CONTACT WITH CHRISTIANITY

The motives that actuated geographical discoveries of the modern age, as expressed in subsequent events, may be classified as economic, political, scientific, and altruistic. Adventurous traders seeking new markets, pirates looting the commerce of all nations, or conquerors seizing new territories and planting colonies were motivated by economic and political purposes. The Portuguese, and the Spaniards in America, the Dutch and the British in India, and other nations of Western Europe in Africa, are conspicuous examples of this class. There are also geographical discoveries made for scientific purposes. The daring men who went to unknown shores to chart coasts sailed the seven seas to discover routes, and trod strange lands to investigate the land and the people. Magellan's discoveries and Captain Cook's expeditions have added rich scientific knowledge of the world. There went out also noble men and women to far countries and alien peoples to share their religious convictions and to promote the well-being of their fellow men. These are missionaries. Livingstone in Africa and the Egedes in Greenland are well known pioneers in missionary discovery.

THE FIRST JESUIT MISSIONARY

Since Korea was a country inferior in size and importance to her neighbors and was surrounded by dangerous seas, until very recent times she failed to attract the attention of the world in any extensive measure. We cannot say what might have happened to Korea, if she had been discovered by piratical traders. For good or ill, Korea was unmolested by outside contacts and enjoyed some two hundred years of peace and tranquillity undisturbed by the experiences which overtook China and Japan. In what we call modern times, the first Westerner to set his foot in Korea was a Jesuit priest. In the year 1592, Toyotomi Hideyoshi of Japan under-

took his unscrupulous[1] enterprise of the invasion of Korea.[2] At the head of the expeditionary force he placed Generals Konishi Yukinaga, a converted Roman Catholic, and Kato Kiyomasa. It is said that there were eighteen thousand Christian soldiers in Konishi's division.[3] In order to minister to these Christians, General Konishi asked for a priest. Toward the end of 1593, the Vice-Provençal of the company of Jesuits despatched Father Gregorio de Cespedes and a Japenese convert to comply with Konishi's request. They reached Korea in the Spring of 1594 and ministered to the soldiers, remaining in Korea for only two months.[4] However, Cespedes' stay was so brief and his work was so exclusively confined to the Japanese soldiers that there were no effects of his ministry left in Korea. Neither did he contribute any knowledge of the Korean people and their country to Europe.

HENDRICK HAMEL

While the next cycle of sixty years rolled away, Korea was not favored by a European visitor. However, in 1653, the *Sparwehr*, a trading vessel of the Dutch East India Company, was wrecked on the coast of Quelpart Island. Hendrick Hamel, the supercargo of the ship, together with his crew, were detained in Korea for fourteen years. Hamel and seven others at length returned to Holland in 1668, having escaped through Japan. Hamel published his "quaint and racy account"[5] of his experiences in Korea called the *Narrative of an Unlucky Voyage and Shipwreck on the Coast of Korea.*[6] This narrative was subsequently translated into

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1 N. D. Harris, *Europe and the East.* p. 505. "One of the most needless, unprovoked, cruel, and desolating wars that ever cursed a country."

2 For causes and motives of the war, see F. Brinkley, *A History of the Japanese People*, p. 509.

3 O. Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan, Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Missions*, p. 115.

4 C. Dallet, *Histoire de l'église de Corée*, Vol. I. p. 2 *et seq.*

5 W. E. Griffis, *Corea, Without and Within*, 2d ed., p. 36.

6 Hendrick Hamel's Narrative of Captivity and Travels in Corea, annotated. W. E. Griffis, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-160

French, English, and German.[7] Thus Hamel was the first European to introduce the knowledge of Korea and her people to the nations of Western Europe. His work, however, instead of stimulating commercial or missionary undertakings, raised skepticism in some readers.[8]

CATHOLIC MISSIONS

The first great step in the missionary discovery of Korea was the introduction of Roman Catholicism. The French Catholic annalist, Ch. Dallet, has written two large volumes on the history of the Catholic church in Korea.[9] His work is the only complete and extensive record of the beginning and development of the Papal Church in Korea from its genesis in the seventeenth century to the year 1866. Hulbert,[10] Longford,[11] Gale,[12] and Griffis[13] used it for source material on the subject. Besides these excellent volumes, there are many commendable books by the equally able pen of Adrien Launay,[14] and the time-honored publication, the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith.* There is no need here to repeat in detail the story so well told in these works. We shall merely give a summary of the work of Catholic missions in Korea from their introduction to the last great persecution of 1866.

Every student of mission history knows that Matthieu Ricci, an Italian of noble birth and a Jesuit Missionary, took up his residence in Peking in 1601.[15] His profound scholarship in Western science, especially in mathematics and astronomy, made a great impression on the court and the

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7 W. E. Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation,* 6th ed., p. 176.
8 W. E. Griffis, *loc. cit.*
9 Ch. Dallet, *op. cit.*
10 H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea.* 2 vols.
11 J. H. Longford. *The Story of Korea.*
12 J. S. Gale, *A History of the Korean People in the Korea Mission Field* (Seoul) from July 1924 to Sept. 1927
13 W. E. Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation, op. cit.*
14 A. Launay, *Histoire générale de la société des missions-Étrangères,* 3 vols.
15 l'Abbé Huc, *Christianity in China, Tartary and Thibet,* Vol. 2, p. 150.

people of the ancient capital. It was then customary for the king of Korea to send an annual envoy to Peking to present compliments and gifts to the emperor of China. Some of these members of the annual party came into contact with Ricci and his successors.[16] In 1631, Chung Du Won, a member of the annual embassy, took back with him many books on science, a pair of pistols, and a telescope, together with some other products of the West, including Ricci's book on the *True Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven.*[17]

The books thus imported to the Korean capital, however, received very little attention. It was in the year 1777 that a few celebrated scholars, such as Chung Yak Chun and Kwun Chyul Sin, became interested in the new doctrines, began to expound them as they understood them, and commenced practicing the precepts of the books.[18] In the winter of 1783 one of the number, a young man by the name of Yi Seung Hoon, went to Peking with the annual embassy. While he was in the imperial capital he was converted and was baptized. He was given the name of Peter, for it was hoped that he would be the first stone of the Korean church.[19] Peter Yi returned to Korea in the Spring of 1784, and baptized his friend Yi Duk Cho. They at once began to preach the doctrine in all earnestness. Little by little a company of believers was added. While the number was increasing in Seoul, converts were made in the provinces.[20]

However, suspicion and persecution soon broke out and the Christians were ordered—on penalty of death—to give up their faith. Thomas Kim[21] was the first victim who was seized. He was tortured and at last banished to a lonely island on the charge of burning his ancestral tablets. Soon after his banishment he died from the injuries caused by the torture.[22] As there was a first martyr, there were also

16 M. N. Trollope, "An Old Map and Its Story." *The Korea Magazine*, Vol. 2, No. 9, September 1918, pp. 386-396.
17 Ch. Dallet, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 11.
18 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 14
19 *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18.
20 *Ibid.*, Vol 1, pp. 23-25.
21 Korean name Kim Pum Wu. C. Dallet, *op. cit.* Vol. 1, p. 26.
22 C. Dallet, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 27.

apostates. It is sad to record that the first of these were the first two converts. They denied the faith that they had professed and preached.[23]

Following this persecution, in order to unite the believers into a close fellowship, a hierarchy was formed,[24] after the model of the Roman Catholic church which they had seen in China. They elected a bishop and priests from among their own ranks, and all the sacraments of the church were administered. After two years, doubts arose in their minds as to the propriety and validity of their ministry. Consequently, in 1790, one of their number was sent to Peking to consult with Bishop Axandre de Govea.[25] When the messenger returned with the Bishop's instruction that the only sacrament that they could administer was the rite of baptism,[26] the hierarchy resigned their offices and again took their places among the laity.[27] The infant church being vexed with the problems of administration, a special messenger was despatched again to the bishop to beg for the services of a European priest.[28] The messenger soon returned with the assurance and promise of the bishop that an ordained man would be forthcoming. At the same time, the herald was instructed to make it known to his fellow Christians that the worship of ancestors was inconsistent with the doctrine of the church.[29]

The result of Govea's prohibititon of ancestral worship was disastrous. That cult is the state religion. Its neglect meant the abandonment of everything that a Korean held most sacred in the duty which he owed to his family, society, and state. But zealous Christian converts tore down their ancestral tablets and set them on fire.[30] The consequence was the inauguration of systematic persecution. On

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23 C. Dallet *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 27, 28.
24 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 30.
25 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 33.
26 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
27 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
28 *Ibid.*, p. 34
29 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 35.
30 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

December 18, 1791, the two Christians Paul Yun[31] and James Kwun[32] were executed for refusing to offer sacrifices to their ancestors and to give up their heresy.[33]

The young church was persecuted, but was not stamped out. The bishop in Peking had not forgotten his promise of an ordained priest for Korea. He sent a young Chinese named James Chu,[34] because he thought one with a knowledge of Chinese literature and with similar features to those of the Koreans would be better fitted for the difficult post than a European priest. Chu succeeded in making his way to Seoul in 1794[35] and for six months[36] ministered to the converts. However, in ignorance of the customs of the country, he received all who came to him, though among them was one who proved a traitor and betrayed his presence.[73] The Chinese priest recognized the approach of the inevitable danger to his person and for three months took refuge in the woodshed of a Christian lady,[38] later staying with her mother for three years. But persecution increased. The hiding priest lost patience. In September, 1796, he sent a letter in Latin to the bishop of Peking by two Koreans, who obtained for the purpose places as servants in the annual envoy.[39] In order to make sure that the letter would reach its destination, they copied it on silk and sewed it into their garments.[40] The letter was safely delivered to the bishop.[41] It urged that the king of Portugal be asked to intercede with the king of Korea in behalf of the Christians, and to make a treaty which would give freedom of faith.[42] But not only did nothing of consequence come of the letter, but a change of the government[43] in Korea inaugurated a fresh persecution. Believing that his pre-

31 Korean name, Yun Chi Chyong. C. Dallet, *op. cit.*, p. 37
32 Korean name, Kwun Syang Yen. *Ibid.*, p. 39
33 *Ibid.*, pp. 37-56.
34 Korean name, Chu Moon Mo. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
35 *Ibid.*, p. 71.
35 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
37 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
38 *Ibid.*, p. 74.
39 *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 77.
40 *Ibid.*, p. 77.
44 Ibid., *loc. cit.*
42 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
43 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

sence was the cause of the new outbreak, Chu delivered himself before the authorities.[44] He was beheaded in May 1801. However, he could not save the lady who had so long befriended him for she too was seized and beheaded.[45] It was a dark year for Christians in Korea. Many were imprisoned or scourged, while others were killed.[46]

Alexander Whang,[47] a convert, wrote a letter to the bishop of Peking[48] in which he proposed an appeal to the Christian nations in Euprope to send sixty or seventy thousand soldiers to conquer Korea.[49] This document, which was sewed in the garment of the messenger, was discovered by a government agent.[50] This discovery naturally resulted in strict enforcement of the anti-Christian edicts and an intensification of the persecution.

Since the beheaded priest, James Chu, was a Chinese subject, the king of Korea felt it necessary to give to the Peking government an account of the execution. He wrote a lengthy letter to the emperor of China justifying the execution of Chu and his Korean converts.[51] The whole argument was based on religious and political grounds. The king, at the outset, reaffirms his strict adherence to the Confucian orthodoxy and declares that Christianity is "utter blasphemy against Heaven,"[52] and charges the heresy with stifling "all feelings of filial piety, abolishing sacrifice to ancestors, and with burning the memorial tablets."[53] The political reason is even stronger than the religious one. The king feels that the converts are "rebels against their princes,"[54] following the example of "the brigands, the White Lotus Society, and the Yellow Turban Rebels. They devote themselves to divi-

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44 C. Dallet, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
45 *Ibid.*, pp. 143. 144,
46 *Ibid.*, pp. 82-141.
47 Korean name, Whang Sa Young, *Ibid.*, p. 78.
48 *Ibid.*, p. 200.
49 *Ibid.*, op. 205.
50 *Ibid.*, p. 206.
51 *Ibid.*, p.210.
52 *Ibid.*, p. 211.
53 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
54 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

nation and extend errors and trouble from the capital to the remote provinces."[55] Then he explains that Chu was executed because he was the chief of the conspiracy and center of all the correspondence with foreign nations.[56]

We have no record of the number of men and women who were put to death during those years of persecution. Nor do we have an accurate report of the number of survivors. Evidently there were still true believers left, for toward the end of the year 1811 they found courage and means to send a letter to the bishop of Peking imploring the succor of the children in Korea.[57] Another plea was also addressed to the Pope.[58] But neither the Pope nor the bishop could give help. The Pope was a prisoner at Fontainebleau under the iron hand of Napoleon; and the French Revolution had deprived the church at Peking of all material resources. Moreover, Christianity was proscribed in China and was suffering from severe persecutions. The neglected church of Korea received no assistance from the outside, while she was suffering from fiery persecution at the hands of the government in the years 1815, 1819, and 1827.[58]

After the termination of the Napoleonic wars, the Pope entered the Eternal City. It was not, however, until the year 1829 that *La Société des Missions-Étrangères*—a great French missionary congregation that had long been at work in the Far East—recovered sufficiently from the ruin brought by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars to resume foreign missionary work. The Society resolved to found a mission in Korea directly attached to the Holy See, but to be under the care of the Society.[60] Barthelemy Brugière, then a missionary at Bangkok, Siam, volunteered to go and was nominated Vicar Apostolic of Korea in 1832.[61] He made the

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55 C. Dallet, *op. cit*, p. 211.
56 *Ibid.*, p. 214.
57 *Ibid.*, p. 251.
58 *Ibid.*, p. 258.
59 *Ibid.*, pp. 278-383.
60 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 1-8.
61 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2. p. 23.

arduous journey to Manchuria in the hope of reaching his destination[62] but when on the borders of his new field he died.[63] Pierre Philibert Maubant, his companion and colleague, succeeded his fallen comrade and in the winter of 1836 crossed the Yalu on the ice.[64] In order to avoid the frontier guards, the missionary and his guides slipped into a drain hole in the town wall and crawled out within the city.[65] At length, Maubant made his safe journey to Seoul.[66] In the following winter, Jacques-Honore Chasten joined Maubant, having succeeded in passing the border in the disguise of a Korean mourner,[67] and Laurent Marie-Josoph Imbert, the new Vicar Apostolic, arrived at his field of labor in the winter of 1838 by way of the Manchurian border.[68] Thus the Catholic mission opened a new era under the leadership of these zealous missionaries and prosecuted the work with new vigor for two successful years.[69]

Meanwhile a change was taking place in the government. In 1839, a regent who had held a conciliatory policy toward Christianity retired and the executive power fell into the hands of the anti-Christian party. A new decree was issued ordering the severest punishment for Christians.[70] Fresh persecution once more burst out. Bishop Imbert, believing that the persecution was primarily directed against the foreigners, voluntarily surrendered himself[71] and ordered the priests to do the same.[72] Maubant and Chasten obeyed[73] and were thrown into prison, tortured,[74] and finally tried and condemned. The missionaries with their Korean

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62 C. Dallet, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-84.
63 *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 87.
64 I*bid.*, p. 92.
65 *Ibid.*, p. 93.
66 *Ibid.*, p. 94.
67 *Ibid.*, p. 111.
68 *Ibid.*, p. 124.
69 *Ibid.*, p. 131.
70 *Ibid* , p. 157. For the full text, see *The Korea Magazine* (Seoul) Vol. 1, No. 11 (Nov. 1617), pp. 488-495.
71 C. Dallet, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 167.
72 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
73 *Ibid.*, pp. 174-185.
74 For the kinds of torture, see *Ibid.*, pp. 169-171.

converts were crowned with the coveted martyrdom on September 21,1839.[75]

The infant church in Korea was again left without a pastor, but the mother church was not unmindful of the fact. In December, 1843, Jean Joseph Ferreol was made bishop of Korea.[76] The newly appointed bishop and his Korean companion attempted to enter the country from the northeastern border, at Hun Chun on the Tuman river.[77] The attempt failed and the bishop went to Macao,[78] while his campanion, Andrew Kim,[79] a Korean educated at the Portuguese Seminary at Macao in China, entered his country at Euiju in the early Spring of 1845.[80] Reaching his home in the south, Kim manned an undecked boat with eleven Christians, most of them utterly ignorant of the sea, and with only a compass put out into the Yellow Sea,[81] hoping to return with the bishop. After a tempestuous voyage, they finally reached Shanghai, then newly opened as a treaty port.[82] In this port Kim was reunited with Bishop Ferreol and was ordained to the priesthood as a reward for his daring enterprise.[83] The bishop, the Korean Christians, and a newly arrived priest, Marie-Antoine-Nicholas Daveluy, sailed again on the bark, destined for Korea. The boat at last reached the Korean coast, and the smuggled missionaries landed on the night of October 12, 1845.[84]

Andrew Kim thus established a new route for the entrance of missionaries. Other French propagandists continued to come to Korea until it was reported that in 1863 there were two bishops and eight priests.[85] The roll of their converts continued to increase until in 1863 the total number reached 19,748.[86]

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75 C. Dallet, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
76 *Ibid.*,p. 266.
77 *Ibid.*, p. 272.
78 *Ibid.*, p. 281.
79 Korean name, Kim-Hai-Kim. *Ibid.*, p. 285.
80 *Ibid.*, p. 283.
81 *Ibid.*, p 285.
82 *Ibid.*, p. 286, 289.
83 *Ibid.*, p. 294.
84 *Ibid.*, p. 300.
85 A. Launay, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 448.
86 *Ibid.*, p. 448.

The quarter of a century from 1840 to 1865 was an eventful epoch in the Far East. China was partly opened to the world, after her first war with Great Britain, 1840-1842. Japan made her first treaty with the United States in 1854. In 1847, Korea saw the French men-of-war, despatched by Louis Philippe to inquire into the murder of Bishop Imbert and his fellow missionaries, manoeuvering along her coast.[87] China was defeated by allied armies in 1860, her military prestige was destroyed,[88] and she was more extensively opened to foreign residence and travel. Russia annexed the maritime province east of the Amur, thus bringing her border line to that of Korea.[89] These events outside of the country caused much fear in Korea, while internal changes disturbed the nation. The direct succession of the royal line of the Yi dynasty founded in 1392 came to an end in 1864.[90] A young king twelve years of age was selected from another branch of the Yi family, while his father, Prince Heung Sun, who is better known by his later title, the Taiwonkun, was made the regent.[91] The regent was a man of great vigor and executive ability, but was bigoted, short-sighted, and unscrupulous. With the ascendancy of the Taiwonkun, the political party which was largely responsible for the persecution of 1801 once more gained power.[92]

In January, 1866, a Russian war vessel appeared at Wonsan, and the commander presented a letter to the court demanding liberty of trade and residence for the Russian merchants. It also intimated that if the demand was not granted, Russian troops would cross the frontier to enforce it.[93] The court was greatly perplexed by the event and sent

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87 H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea*, Vol. 2, p. 197 ; Dallet, *op. cit.*, p. 336.
88 K. S. Latourette, *Development of China*, 3d ed., p. 150.
89 A. Launay, *op. cit.*, p. 465.
90 C. Dallet, *op. cit.*, pp. 496-502 ; H. B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, p. 114.
91 C. Dallet, *op. cit.*, p. 499.
92 *Ibid.*, p. 496 ; A. Launay, *op. cit.*, p. 464.
93 C. Dallet, *op. cit.*, p. 521 ; A. Launay, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

a special envoy to Peking to consult with the Chinese authorities in regard to the Russian request.[94] At this point, certain Christian noblemen at Seoul believed that the opportunity of winning religious toleration, and fame and honor for themselves, had come.[95] One of the number, Thomas Kim,[96] went to see the French bishop, Berneux, and asked whether he would be willing to assist the government in solving the Russian situation. The bishop assured Kim that he would comply with such a call.[97] Kim immediately wrote a letter to the regent suggesting that the most effective measure for resisting Russian aggression would be found in forming an anti-Russian alliance with France and England, and that such an alliance could easily be negotiated through the French bishop resident in Korea.[98] Thus the presence of Berneux in the country was openly revealed to the regent.

The Christian community was greatly encouraged by the prospect. It is said that the wife of the regent was sympathetic with the Christians. Martha Pak, who was a nurse of her son, the young king, was a devoted Catholic.[99] Our Frenth authorities on the subject believe that the regent's wife encouraged the interference of the bishop.[100] Consequently, John Nam[101] wrote to the Taiwonkun a letter of the same tenor of that of Kim.[102] The regent inclined toward the suggestion so far as to express a desire for an interview with the bishop.[103] But unfortunately the bishop was away from the capital and was unable to comply with the wishes of the regent. Some days later, when the bishop returned to Seoul, Nam at once informed the regent of the presence of the

94 A. Launay, *op. cit.*, p. 465.
95 Dallet, *op. cit.*, p. 522.
96 Korean name. Kim Keui Ho. *Ibid.*, p. 521.
97 C. Appert, *For the Faith*, life of Just de Breternières, trans. F. Gilmore, p. 136.
98 C. Dallet, *op. cit.*, p. 521; C. Appert, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
99 C. Dallet, *op. cit.*, p. 522; C. Appert, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
100 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
101 Korean name, Nam Sang Kyo. "A Proposal of the Triple Alliance between Korea, England and France," *The Tong Myeng* (東明), Vol. 1, No. 6. p. 12.
102 C. Dallet, *op. cit.*, p. 522; C. Appert, *op. cit.*, p. 137; *The Tong Myeng, op. cit.*, p. 12.
103 *The Tong Myeng, loc. cit.*

bishop,[104] but found that the Taiwonkun no longer cared to see Berneux.[105]

There were several reasons for the sudden change in the Taiwonkun's attitude, The Russian warship had voluntarily sailed out of port,[106] while the Korean envoy to Peking sent a letter giving a false report to the effect that the Chinese were putting to death all the Europeans in the empire.[107] There were four principal ministers in the court who firmly disapproved the regent's consulting with the bishop and were determined to see that the laws against the Christians were enforced.[108] The Taiwonkun yielded to his ministers.[109]

An anti-Christian storm soon broke out. While the bishop was patiently waiting for a summons from the regent, two armed men presented themselves in his hut on the pretext of getting a contribution for the palace which was being constructed.[110] But there was no doubt that the regent desired to have the assurance of the bishop's presence in the city, and the measure of protection that Berneux might have, before he would give orders to arrest the missionaries. The order soon came. The bishop and all but three of the missionaries were seized and cast into prison. They were examined under torture[111] and then tried before the four courts of the land.[112] The final verdict was the inevitable crown of martyrdom.[113] The death sentence reads: "So and so (name in Korean) rebelled, disobedient, condemned to die after

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104 C. Dallet, p. 523; C. Appert, p. 138; *The Tong Myeng, op. cit.*, p. 12.
105 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
106 C. Appert, *op. cit.*, p. 138; *The Tong Myeng, op. cit.*, p. 12.
107 C. Dallet, *op. cit.*, p. 524.
108 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
109 *Ibid., loc. cit.*; C. Appert, *op. cit.*, p. 139. Thus our French historian believed the regent was pushed on to the great persecution of 1866 by the anti-Christian party. In the light of subsequent events and his anti-foreign prejudice, we incline to believe that his early attitude toward the Alliance proposal was a ruse whereby to make the measure more effective.
110 C. Dallet, *op. cit.*, p. 525.
111 For the nature of tortures, see Dallet, *op. cit.*, p. 526, and C. Appert, *op. cit.*, pp. 145, 146.
112 C. Appert, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
113 For the details of trials, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

having been tortured."[114] The last clause, "after having been tortured." was added to show that they had not repented during the course of the examination.[115]

The persecution was not directed against the missionaries alone. It was a nation-wide search for Christians, with imprisonment, cruel torture, and merciless massacre. The regent published a new anti-foreign edict and fixed a tablet in the center of the capital city so that the people could read and understand the warning.[116] All the manufacturers of ink cakes were ordered to imprint the edict on every slab of ink.[117] There is no accurate estimate of the number of martyrs of the persecution of 1866. The executioner of the missionaries, severing the heads from their bodies, cried : "It is done."[118] So it seemed with the Catholic church in Korea.

The Roman church was planted in Korea under very extraordinary, if not romantic, circumstances. The history of the growth through persecution in a new environment, which we have just observed, was nothing short of remarkable. Self-sacrifice, daring adventure, heroic patience and endurance, even the very sacrifice of life on the part of missionaries and their converts, deserve high praise. But even the infallible Roman church has a great many shortcomings. Their converts are untaught of the Scripture. From the foundation of the church by Yi Seung Hoon in 1784 to 1866, eighty-two years had passed, but no attempt had been made to translate a single Gospel or any portion of the Bible.[119] Their emphasis on ecclesiastical institutionalism

114 A. Launay, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 469. The death sentence of Bishop Berneux reads: "The accused, Chang, refuses to obey the king. He will not apostatize. He will not give the information demanded. He refuses to return to his own country. Therefore, after the usual punishment, he will be decapitated."—Dallet, *op. cit.*, p. 528.

115 The death sentence of Bishop Berneux which is quoted above supports our pressent contention. For Life Sketch of Berneux, see the *Korean Repository* (Seoul) for March 1898, pp. 83-91.

116 A photographic reprotuction of the tablet is found in *The Korea Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 11 (Nov. 1917), frontispiece ; English translation of the same by W. Carl Rufus, p. 496.

117 Hyen Chai, *The Outline History of Korea*, Bk. 4, p. 50.

118 C. Dallet, *op. cit.*, p. 532.

119 For the list of Catholic publications in Korean, see C. Dallet, *op. cit.*, p. 504.

occupies such a paramount place that even new converts began the practice of their faith by setting up a hierarchy, rather than by growing in grace and life. Their political activities perhaps are the most undesirable features of the missionary proselyting methods of Roman Catholics. Following the advice of their teachers, the Korean converts played the part of traitors to their country. They not only deceived officers of their government, but also violated the law of the land. In the case of Alexander Whang,[120] as we have seen, Roman Catholics actually invited an armed intervention. As in Annam, Korea saw the French missionaries as the forerunners of French imperialism[121] and the priests as the pilots of the gunboat.[122] Was it not natural in the irrational but patriotic minds of the Korean officers to conceive that Christianity, as they first saw it, was an emblem of treason and robbery ?

PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES

Charles Gutzlaff

We have already noted that in 1832 Barthelemy Brugière, a French Catholic missionary at Bangkok, Siam, was appointed Apostolic Vicar of Korea.[123] When, in July of that year, he left for his new post, there was also visiting Korea a Protestant missionary who, too, had been a missionary in Siam. This was Charles Gutzlaff.[124] Born in Pomerania and educated at Halle, the center of the German pietistic movement in the seventeenth century, Gutzlaff was one of many German missionaries who served under the Netherlands Missionary Society. After having served a brief term at Batavia, he severed his connection with the Netherlands Society in 1828 and went to Bangkok, Siam. Still later he moved to Macao,

120 *Supra*, p. 30.

121 The first French expedition in 1847. H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 197; the second one in 1866, *Ibid.*, pp. 208, 209.

122 One of three French priests who had escaped to China during the persecution of 1866, Ridel came to Korea in the gunboat of the French expeditionary fleet, as an interpreter—Hulbert, *op. cit.*, p, 208.

123 *Supra*, p. 31.

124 Gutzlaff's full name was Carl Friedrich Augustus Gutzlaff.

where he became an intimate friend of Robert Morrison,[125] the first Protestant missionary to China.

In 1832, the East India Company sent Charles Gutzlaff and H. H. Lindsay, one of the Company's supercargoes, to "the Northern Ports of China," in the ship *Lord Amherst* (Captain Rees, commander).[126] "The principal object was to ascertain how far the northern ports of China might be gradually opened to British commerce, which of them was most eligible, and to what extent the disposition of the natives and the local governments would be favorable to it."[127] However, Robert Morrison sent a large stock of the Chinese Scriptures to Gutzlaff for distribution during his voyage.[128] After having visited the Shantung coasts, the ship sailed for Korea. At first it anchored at one of the islands of the James Hall group near the cape of Chang San, on the west coast of the Whanghai Province.[129] The explorers made an attempt to reach the court by a letter through the local magistrates, but their effort failed. They resumed their voyage toward the south and reached the west coast of the Chung Chyong Province. While the *Lord Amherst* was anchored at Basil's Bay, a petition, together with presents, was despatched to the king, through the local officials, requesting an opening of commercial intercourse.[130] While they were waiting for the reply from the capital, our visitors came into contact with the people. Gutzlaff distributed Bibles and religious tracts, and planted potatoes.[131] The petition and the presents, after a long delay, were returned. The visitors were informed that Korea could not permit them to trade

125 For a sketch of Gutzlaff's life, see *The Vanguard of the Christian Army*, pp. 207-213.

126 H. H. Lindsay, *Report of Proceedings on a Voyage to the Northern Ports of China*, 2d ed., p. 1. Two minor mistakes made by A. J. Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East*, p. 500, that Gutzlaff came to Korea "representing the Netherlands Missionary Society" and that he arrived at the Korean shores on a ship "Commanded by Lord Amberst," are hereby corrected.

127 H. H. Lindsay, *op. cit.*, advertisement.

128 M. Broomhall, *Robert Morrison*, p. 195.

129 H. H. Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

130 *Ibid.*, pp. 216-218, 227.

131 *Ibid.*, p. 236. Potatoes are, however, an indignous product in Korea. See *The Korea Review* (Seoul), Vol. 2, p. 301.

without consulting China.[132] The explorers at last "left the place highly dissatisfied with the unnecessary delay incurred."[133]

Gutzlaff reports: "According to all accounts which we could collect, there are at present no Europeans at the capital, and Christianity is unknown even by name."[134] Before he went to Korea, Gutzlaff had known the "detailed accounts of persecution"[135] of Catholicism in Korea, but he "could discover no trace of it."[136] However, Dallet, writing his history of the church in Korea in 1874, states that while the ship was on the island of Wonsan, off the west coast of Chung Chyong Province, the native Christians were attracted by the inscription on the flag in large Chinese characters, "Religion of Jesus Christ," and came on board to receive the visitors. These Koreans were met by a Protestant minister with a salute: "May the Spirit of the earth bless you!" At these words, the neophytes thought they were deceived, retired in all haste, and made no further visit.[137] These conflicting statements are interesting, for they seem to reveal the status of Catholic Christianity four years before the entrance of the first French priest into Korea.

Lindsay recorded receiving sympathetic expressions from Koreans as they were sailing northeast from Lok-to[138] toward Lindsay Island, which is probably named after him. He also made the following entry in his journal under the date of July 27, 1832: "After a great deal of persuasion, we succeeded in inducing Yang-yih to write out a copy of the Corean alphabet, and Mr. Gutzlaff having written the Lord's prayer in Chinese characters, he both gave the sound, and wrote it out in Corean characters, but after having done so he expressed the greatest alarm, repeatedly passing his hand

132 H. H. Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
133 *Ibid.*, p. 294.
134 C. Gutzlaff, *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China*, pp. 323, 324.
135 *Ibid.*, p. 324.
136 C. Gutzlaff, *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China*, pp. 323, 324.
137 C. Dallet, *op. cit.*, Vol. *1*, p. 375 and footnote.
138 H. H. Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

across his throat, and intimating, that if the chiefs know it he would lose his head."[139] Lindsay's report seems to indicate that there were among Koreans a few who knew something about Christianity, but they feared to reveal their knowledge of it.[140] These Catholic converts repeatedly asked the visitors from what country and for what purpose they came.[141] What they were expecting was a "spiritual father" or priest who would come either from Portugal or from France. They also could not conceive that their priests would come in daylight, requesting an official communication with the court. These Christians expected the ship to bring images, rosaries, and crucifixes, but not the Bible, religious tracts, and articles of merchandise. Under such circumstances, we can hardly expect Gutzlaff to discover traces of Christianity in Korea.

Gutzlaff's visit to Korea was so brief that no recognizable result was produced. But the first Protestant missionary to visit the peninsula declared in unshaken faith: "At all events, it [his visit] is the work of God, which I frequently commended in my prayers to his gracious care. Can the divine truth, disseminated in Korea, be lost? This I believe not: there will be some fruits in the appointed time of the Lord.[142] In the great plan of the eternal God, there will be a time of merciful visitation for them. While we look for this, we ought to be very anxious to hasten its approach, by diffusing the glorious doctrines of the cross by all means and power.... The scripture teaches us to believe that God can bless even these feeble beginnings. Let us hope that better days will soon dawn for Corea."[143]

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139 *Ibid.*, p. 239.

140 Lindsay further reports: "In urging us to go away, the men repeatedly drew their forefingers across their throats, pointing both to us and themselves, thereby intimating that both our lives were in peril."—*Op. cit.*, p. 230. Our authority writes also: "We addressed several questions to the chiefs, among others, 'Why are you so fearful of foreigners entering your villages?'....They consulted some time; Yang-yih several times took up his pencil, wrote a few words and obliterated them, and at last merely answered, 'Formerly it was not so.'"....—*Ibid.*, p. 234.

141 *Ibid.*, pp. 222, 233,234.

142 C. Gutzlaff, *op. cit.*, pp. 339, 340.

143 *Ibid.*, p. 355.

R. J. Thomas

After the uneventful visit of Gutzlaff, no other Protestant missionary visited Korea for thirty-three years. Protestants would, however, inevitably make their way to Korea. Missionary zeal was increasing in Europe and America and missionaries were multiplying in the newly opened cities of China and Japan. It was only a question of time until they would seek entrance to Korea. The courageous man who broke the long silence was a Scotchman, the Reverend R. J. Thomas. His second visit to Korea is well known in connection with the "General Sherman" affair. The Christian people in Pyeng Yang, in which city the missionary gave his life, deemed the event important enough to record the acts of Thomas for permanent memory.[144] But not even his full name has been known either to missionaries in Korea or to the Korean Christians. Perhaps the present thesis is the first effort to record in detail the life and work of the brave Scotch missionary.

Robert Jermain Thomas was graduated with the degree of B. A. from New College, Edinburgh. He was ordained to the ministry at Hanover Chapel, Abergavenny, Scotland, on June 4, 1863,[145] and was appointed to labor in China under the London Missionary Society. Accompanied by his wife, Thomas left Scotland in July of the same year.[146]

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144 A "Special Committee" on "Memorial to Mr. Thomas," composed of S. A. Moffett, F. S. Miller, and G. S. McCune, was appointed to record the acts of Thomas, at the Annual Meeting of Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. held at Seoul, in September, 1912.—Minutes and Reports of the said meeting, p. 4. But "Owing to the great pressure of other duties, the Committee has been able to do nothing."—Minutes and Reports of 30th Annual Meeting, p. 30. And "the committee was discharged at its own request" in 1915.—Minutes and Reports of 31st Annual Meeting, p. 48. Since this was written, Oh Moon Whan, a teacher at Pyeng Yang, as a result of his researches has published a booklet in Korean on the *Life of R. J. Thomas.* (Pyeng Yang, Sept. 1928) His viewpoint is highly eulogistical. There is also a movement carried on in Presbyterian circles in Korea to erect a memorial church for Thomas at the supposed spot where the missionary was killed.

145 *The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle* (London Missionary Society), Vol. 27, pp. 249, 250. Aug. 1885.

146 *Ibid., loc. cit*

Soon after their landing at Shanghai, Mrs. Thomas found that the climate was too warm and did not agree with her. Thomas, therefore, at once went to Hankow to examine the climate of that place with the hope that his wife "might spend the Summer there."[147] Alas! while he was away, his wife died. The grief-stricken missionary wrote to the Society: "My heart is well nigh broken. I must seek somewhere a complete change."[148] It was perhaps in compliance with his request for a change that he was assigned to work in Peking.[149] In the autumn of 1865 we find him at Chefoo. While Thomas was at this port he was led, under peculiar circumstances, to visit Korea.

It will be recalled that the year of 1866 was the memorable year of severe persecution of the Catholics in Korea. In the Fall of 1865 there appeared a junk from Korea having "concealed on board two Coreans, who, at the risk of discovery and being sent back for certain execution, had ventured across to Shantung."[150] Alexander Williamson, the agent of the National Bible Society of Scotland, stationed at Chefoo, was introduced to these refugees. They were Roman Catholics who proved their church membership with rosaries, crucifixes, and medals concealed in their dresses. Williamson learned much of the status of the papal church in Korea through these men, but was deeply impressed by their ignorance of the Scriptural teachings. Thomas, who was then at the port, "resolved to *return*[151] to Corea with the two visitors,"[152] and offered to Williamson "to act gratuitously as the Society's agent during the journey."[153] "The Coreans agreed to act as his guide, while the master of the junk consented to take him as passenger, to wait his convenience there, and subsequently

147 *The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle*, Vol. 28, pp. 220, 221. July, 1864,
148 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
149 *The Annual Report of the London Missionary Society for 1866*, p. 66.
150 *Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland for 1865*, pp. 35-37.
151 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
152 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
153 *Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland for 1865*, pp. 35-37.

to land him within two or three days' journey of the capital of Manchuria, through which country he proposed to make his way to Peking."[154] The Bible Society gave him a small allowance for traveling expenses. He sailed to the "*terra incognita*" with a large stock of Chinese Bibles for distribution in Korea.[155]

Thomas left Chefoo on September 4, 1865, arriving at the Korean coast on the 13th. There he spent two months and a half.[156] We have no record of the places he visited. During his sojourn, however, he acquired some knowledge of the Korean language, and distributed his stock of books which the Koreans received "at the risk of decapitation."[157] He left the Korean shores in December and landed on the coast of Manchuria, whence he proceeded through New Chwang and Shan-Hai-Kwan overland to Peking early in January, 1866.

While the furious persecution against the Catholics in Korea was carried on in 1866, three French priests escaped to China. One of these, Ridel, went to Peking and reported to the French Admiral Roze the recent event in Korea. The admiral at once began preparations for an expedition to Korea to obtain redress from the Korean government for the killing of priests. Roze wished to benefit by Thomas' knowledge of the coast and language, and solicited his service. Thomas, having previously been "well received by the people, with whom he held most pleasant intercouse....[and having] formed a high idea of the province as a sphere of missionary labor,"[158] agreed to accompany the admiral and proceeded to Chefoo for sailing. But the expedition was delayed.[159] Meanwhile he embarked on an American vessel, the *General Sherman*. The vessel was loaded with goods likely to be saleable in Korea and was despatched there for an experi-

154 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
155 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
156 Letter from Thomas dated Jan. 12, 1866, Peking, China.—*The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle* for July, 1866, pp. 200, 201.
157 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
158 *Annual Report of the London Missionary Society for 1867* pp. 27, 28.
159 On account of troubles in Cochin China, which France annexed in 1867.—T. Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, p. 471.

mental voyage in the hope of opening the country to commerce.[160]

The *General Sherman* entered the mouth of the Taitong river toward the end of August, 1866. The governor of the Pyeng An Province sent a messenger to inquire the cause of her coming, and the answer was that they desired to open trade with Korea. The fear-stricken governor informed the visitors that it was impossible. But the vessel pushed up the river until she reached a place not far from the city of Pyeng Yang. It was only the heavy rain in the interior and an exceptionally high tide that made it possible for her to get across the bar, and soon she was stuck in the mud. Then began a fight which resulted in the extermination of the whole crew and the burning of the ship. Thomas perished with the others. He was killed "about September 2nd, 1866."[161] Thomas, like Gutzlaff, discovered the missionary value of Korea, and "formed a high idea of the province as a sphere of missienary labor."[162] When Samuel A. Moffett, a pioneer missionary to the city of Pyeng Yang, formed a class of catechumen in October, 1893, he found a man who had received a Chinese New Testament from the unfortunate missionary.[163]

Alexander Williamson

The missionary discovery of the "Hermit Kingdom," however, did not stop with the destruction of the *General Sherman*. Alexander Williamson, who sent Thomas to Korea in 1865, made an exporing journey to Manchuria, extending his visit as far as the Korean Gate, in the Fall of 1867. Williamson arrived at the "Gate" during one of the seasons when the Koreans come to trade with the Chinese. He reports: "Accordingly I met a great many of the people of

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160 J. S. Gale, "The Fate of the *General Sherman*," *The Korean Repository* for July, 1895, pp. 252-254.

161 *Annunl Report of the London Missionary Society for 1867*, p. 80. Cf. T. Dennet, *op. cit.*, p. 417, footnote.

162 *Supra*, p. 44.

163 S. A. Moffett, "Early Days in Pyeng Yang," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (March 1825), p. 54.

that country, and sold them a number of books. They were as courteous as the Chinese."[165]

John Ross

It is interesting to note that both Thomas and Williamson were Scotchmen. But there are still other of their countrymen who rendered conspicuous service in bringing the Gospel into Korea. John Ross, a Scotch Presbyterian missionary residing at New Chwang, Manchuria, made an exploring journey to eastern Manchuria in the autumn of 1873. As his compatriot and fellow missionary Williamson had done, he, too, went to the Korean Gate and met the Koreans who came thither to trade with the Chinese. He gained no knowledge of the Korean people and their country, for they feared that the inquirer might be a spy sent to investigate the country for evil purposes.[166] "But a keener interest in the people" led him to revisit the Gate in the following year. During this visit, Ross not only succeeded in getting much information concerning the country and people, but also found a man who was willing to go with him as his Korean teacher. With the assistance of this teacher, Ross and his fellow missionary, John Macintyre, translated the Gospel of Luke into Korean.[167] This Korean teacher was Suh Sang Yun, who was converted while he was teaching Korean to the missionaries. He brought the new Faith into his own country and became instrumental for the conversion of his neighbors at Sorai, including his brother Soh Kyung Cho, who was one of the first seven Presbyterian ministers ordained in Korea.[168]

When the translation of the Gospel was completed, a printing press was set up in Mukden, Manchuria, to print the Gospel. Ross had the difficulty of securing a Korean compositor. At last he employed as type-setter a Korean peddler

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165 *Annual Report of the National Bible Societg of Scotland for 1868*, p. 44.

166 J. Ross, "The Christian Dawn in Korea," *The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S., Vol. 3, No. 4 (April 1890), p. 241.

167 J. Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 242, 243.

168 H. G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, p. 137, "A Good and Faithful Servant," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 6, No. 9 (Sept. 1910), pp. 228, 229.

of quack medicines who had come to want. While he was setting type for the Gospel, this peddler learned the essential truths of the Christian religion and was converted. Later another young man, attached to the annual Korean embassy to Peking, joined the company and became an expert compositor. When the Gospel was printed in 1882, Ross sent the peddler of quack medicines as a colporteur to the Koreans scattered in the eastern Manchurian valleys. After six months the colporteur returned with the report that many had become believers, and urged the missionary to go with him to baptize them. Ross did not go; but the colporteur made a second visit of six months and returned with the same encouraging report.[169]

In the winter of 1884, Ross and his colleagues undertook a difficult journey to visit the Korean valleys in northeastern Manchuria. They visited four valleys and baptized seventy-five men,[170] while many were placed on the waiting list for further instruction. These people who received baptism were "all farmers and heads of families."[171] No missionary had ever visited these people; the Gospels and tracts which had been sent to them and the personal witness-bearing of one or two converts in Mukden had alone been instrumental in bringing the great harvest. The result was so gratifying that Ross declared: "It is worth while to translate a few books to see such results."[172]

While these missionaries were yet in the fourth valley, they received reports that there were many more believers in other valleys. With much reluctance, they returned to Mukden before the heavy snowfall of the midwinter should check their homeward journey. In the following summer,

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169 J. Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

170 In regard to the number, Ross wrote: "In three valleys, 85 men were baptized."— J. Ross, *op cit*, p. 245. But his colleague and companion, James Webster, copying from his diary wrote: "Altogether, in four valleys, seventy-five souls were added to the church by baptism."—*The Missionary Review* (Princeton) for Nov. 1885, p. 488. Since Ross wrote his account six years after his visit, we accept Webster's report.

171 J. Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

172 *The Missionary Review* (Princeton) for Nov. 1885, p. 497.

the missionaries made a second visit and baptized many more. But the Chinese in the valleys feared that the Koreans with the aid of the foreigners were plotting against their interests. Consequently, persecution broke out against the Korean Christians. In spite of this, the British and Foreign Bible Society kept a colporteur in the field, and the zealous sower not only retained the ground won but also widely extended the knowledge of the Gospel.[173]

The work which Ross had started so quietly yielded fruit in Korea proper. One of the refugees converted in Mukden entered Korea and made his faith known to others and through his teaching gathered around him a number of believers,[174] More than once Ross was invited to Seoul to baptize them.[175] Suh Sang Yun had already scattered the seed in the northwest of Korea, especially at Sorai, his home village, where the first church in Korea was erected in 1898.[176] There was a handful of Protestant Christians, when American missionaries entered the country in 1884 and in 1885.

Ross' work must also be remembered by the fruitful labor of his pen. Before seeing Korea, Ross learned a good deal about what was then the "Hermit Nation," and, becoming deeply interested in the people and their language, with the aid of a Korean, compiled a Korean-English Primer.[177] Later, with the hope of interesting the home church in the Koreans, he wrote in English a book under the title of *Corea, Its History, Manners and Customs.*

BIBLE SOCIETIES

However, Ross did not accomplish the work without the assistance and co-operation of other people and agencies. When he began to translate the Gospel of Luke, his brother-

173 *Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1885*, p. 248 ; for 1885, pp. 215, 216.
174 J. Ross, "The Christian Dawn in Korea," *The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S , Vol. 3, No. 4; (April 1890) p. 247 ; *Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1884*, p. 250.
175 *Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1885*, pp. 215, 216 ; *Annual Report of the Foreign Missions, the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland for 1887*, p. 71.
176 H. G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, pp. 108, 109.
177 See next chapter.

in-law and colleague, John Macintyre, joined with him heart and hand. And the National Bible Society of Scotland and the British and Foreign Bible Society gave financial assistance for the publication of the results of his toil. The Scotch Society had been the first Bible agency to send the Scriptures to Korea, when Thomas visited there in 1865. In compliance with the request of Ross in 1879, the Society agreed to provide type for the publication of one gospel.[178] In the following year the Scotch Society in co-operation with the British Society, agreed to provide an allowance to Ross and Macintyre for expenses and for the payment of native assistants, and further to furnish type for an edition of three thousand copies of the Gospels of John and Luke.[179] Types for these two Gospels were selected in Japan by the agent of the Scotch Society, Lilly, and sent to New Chwang for the composition and printing. As soon as these Gospels were printed, one-third of the entire edition was sent to the Society's agent in Japan,[180] that from that country copies might be introduced into Korea. At this time Bible circulation among the Koreans seems to have been very extensive. William H. Murray, the agent of the Scotch Society in Peking, reports that the copies he put into circulation found their way into Korea.[181] And Griffith John, who acted as agent of the same society in Hankow, suggested the employment of a separate agent for Korea.[182]

The Scotch Society had not only printed the first pages of the Gospels, but had also sent the first agent to Korea. This agent was a Japanese Christian, Nagasaka, who was associated with the society's depository at Tokyo.[183] Nagasaka reached Fusan in June, 1883, and settled there to distribute and sell Bibles in Chinese and Japanese, and portions of the Gospels and tracts in Korean. J. Austin Thomson, the

178 *Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland for 1879*, pp. 30, 31.
179 *Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland for 1880, p. 33;* for 1881, p. 32.
180 *Ibid.* for 1881, p. 32; for 1882, p. 35.
181 *Ibid.* for 1882, p. 32.
182 *Ibid.* for 1882, pp. 35, 36.
183 *Ibid.* for 1883, p. 37; for 1884, p. 35.

agent of the Scotch Society for Japan, in Yokohama, visited Fusan in April, 1884, accompanied by his wife and two Japanese Christians, Miura and Sugano, and the latter's wife. Miura and Sugano settled at Fusan and acted as agents and colporteurs of the Bible Society. Thomson and his wife made their second visit to Korea in July of the following year and extended their journey as far north as Seoul, where they met the newly arrived American missionaries. The Japanese agent, Sugano, died in Fusan in 1889 and Miura was dismissed from employment about the same time.[184]

The British and Foreign Bible Society began its work for Korea in the year 1882, when the society undertook the publication of Ross' translation of the New Testament. When the New Testament portions were printed, the society kept the colporteur, Suh for the Korean work under the supervision of Ross of Mukden.[185] In 1883, the society appointed Rev. Evan Bryant as the society's agent for its Bible work in the northern provinces of China, and included Korea in his jurisdiction.[186] In 1884, the society published the four Gospels and the Acts in the Ross version, and authorized the publication of an edition of five thousand copies of the entire New Testament when completed.[187]

The results of this pioneering Bible work among the Koreans at this period cannot be determined. The seed of the Scripture was sown in the field: much had fallen by the wayside, on thorny and rocky ground, but some fell on good soil and bore much fruit. When Ross returned from his first visit among the Koreans in their valleys in 1884, he reported to the society: "Besides those already baptized there are 600 men applicants for baptism in the Corean valleys."[188] Reporting on Colporteur Suh's work in Korea, the Bible translator says: "As the result of his two years' labors there, he has now over 70 men applicants for baptism....He has opened

184 *Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland for 1890*, p. 37.
185 *Annual Report of the British Foreign and Bible Society for 1883*, p. 187.
186 *Ibid.* for 1884, p. 237.
187 *Ibid.* for 1885, p. 361.
188 *Ibid.* for 1886, pp. 216, 216.

what he calls a 'Preaching Hall' in a city to the west of the capital, where he has 18 believers, and another convert in a city to the south of the capital has 'over twenty' who are applying for baptism."[189]

We have made a rapid survey of the early missionary activities in Korea from its beginning to the time of the entrance of the first Protestant missionaries into the "Hermit Nation." Korea was left unnoticed by enterprising merchants and colonizers at the age of discoveries, and consequently, was behind her neighbors in adopting the arts of Western civilization. When she did come into contact with the West through missionaries in China, the government inaugurated a policy of exclusion. This policy, as we have noted, was based on religious and political grounds. The governing class of the land believed that the Westerners were political intruders and that their followers were seditious conspirators. Religiously, the refusal to offer sacrifices to ancestors and the encouragement of celibacy were heresy to the Koreans. Although the government adopted a policy of exclusion, the people as a whole gave favorable reception to the Christian religion and Western civilization. It would be an interesting study to inquire into the motives of the early Christian converts in Korea. Since the Catholic faith was introduced from China, the land to which Korea looked for guidance, the Faith spread among the official circles and higher classes, It is natural, therefore, to find groups of men, represented by Thomas Kim and John Nam, who wished to advance their fame and honor in the name of religion.[180] There was also a class of people who wanted to be "civilized" by adopting Western manners and who accepted Christianity in a superficial manner as a matter of course in this process of becoming "civilized." The large number of the political refugees in Manchuria, whom John Ross baptized in 1884, may have come under this categery.[191] Last of all, there were true be-

189 Ibid., *loc. cit.*
190 *Supra*, p. 35.
191 J. Ross, "The Christian Dawn in Korea," *The Missionary Review of the World*, N .S., Vol. 3, No. 4, (April 1890), p. 245.

lievers with definite religious convictions, among them the martyrs who gave their lives, and the zealous evangelists who heralded the good news.

The methods of evangelization adopted by early missionaries are poles apart. Especially great were the differences between the Catholic and the Protestant groups. The Catholic converts were untaught of the Scriptures, while the first thing that Protestant missionaries undertook was the circulation of the Bible and the translation of the Gospels. While the Catholics engaged much in political intrigue, the Protestant missionaries had no dealings with governmental affairs. Catholic priests entered the country illegally, but the Protestant groups were very cautious in entering the land until the country was formally opened by treaties. The Catholic missionaries of early days lived with the people and mingled with their converts. Thus they themselves became leaders of the congregations, establishing ecclesiastical uniformity. Protestant missionaries, however, maintained their own standard of living and lived in separate quarters. Thus they trained leaders among the people to shepherd their own flocks, paving the way for independent churches.

The missionaries who discovered Korea were of European nationality. This may be explained by the fact that European nations predominated in western commercial and missionary activity in China, through which country Korea was introduced to the West. They were represented by French Catholic priests who coveted the crown of martyrdom, by a missionary pioneer of the German Pietist movement, and by descendants of the stern Scotch Covenanters. These missionaries were men of strong religious conviction, great faith, firm courage, and pioneering spirit. The Catholic missionaries planted their church in Korea by the shedding of martyrs' blood. Gutzlaff, having firm faith in the dawning of a better day in Korea, prayed for the divine care for his "feeble beginning." Thomas, having formed a high idea of the country as a promising sphere of missionary labor, gave his life. Ross, taking a keen interest in the people, introduced Christianity into Korea.

CHAPTER II

THE OPENING OF KOREA, 1876-1884.

"The Korean peninsula is the strategic point in the mastery of the Far East,"[1] and the pivot of the Orient. The opening of Korea produced such significant developments in the politics of the Far East that Tyler Dennett, a competent authority on Oriental diplomatic history, declares: "the movement to open Korea..was by far the most important political action undertaken by the United States until the occupation of the Philippines in 1898."[2] The diplomatic contest over Korea was so complicated that a recent writer described it under the title of "The Korean Tangle."[3] With these political developments and with diplomatic relations, we are concerned only in so far as they have direct bearing upon our subject.

Christian missionary activity, in a wide sense, is not confined to the efforts of professional missionaries, but also includes the indirect religious and moral influence of the Christian portion of the world upon the non-Christian. In this sense, Christian influence upon Korea should have begun with the first contacts with the so-called Christian nations of the West. Such, however, was not the experience of the peninsular kingdom. On the contrary, Korea's initiation into the family of nations was through war and destruction. Still, the policy of the open door soon followed the principles of conquest and hostility, and messengers of peace and good-will succeeded soldiers aud sailors. In this chapter, we shall discuss events leading to the opening of the long-closed ports and cities of Korea to the nations of the world, and the developments which culminated in the dispatch of Protestant missionaries to the Korean people.

In order to understand both phases of the opening of Korea, it is necessary to take into consideration both

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1 A. J. Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East*, p. v.
2 T. Dennit, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, p. 450.
3 N. D. Harris, *Europe and the East*, p 503. Cf. K, Asakawa, *The Russo-Japanese Conflict*, pp. 503-541.

the general conditions in Korea and the religious conditions and movements in the United States which caused the initiation of the missionary enterprise in the Hermit Kingdom. The foreign policy, if it can be so termed, of the Korean government under the regency of the Taiwonkun was the uncompromising exclusion of foreigners and all things foreign.[4] The three outstanding instances which demonstrated the regent's attitude were the wholesale persecution of the Catholics and cruel murder of the French missionaries, and two hostile brushes with France and the United States. These latter episodes, insignificant though they may seem, had important sequels.[5]

It will be recalled that all but three of the French Catholic missionaries were put to death in 1839 and 1866.[6] The diplomatic and naval representatives of Napoleon III at Peking immediately took steps to demand from the Chinese government satisfaction of the Koreans.[7] "It was then the assumption of the foreign representatives in Peking in 1866 that Korea was a dependency of the Chinese Empire."[8] However, in that year Prince Kung, the President of the Tsung-li Yamen, the Board of Foreign Affairs of China, adopted the policy of evading responsibility for the misdeeds of the Koreans when brought to task for them by foreign powers.[9] This attitude of the Chinese government led the French to proceed against Korea as an independent nation.[10] The French Admiral Roze, with seven warships, was despatched; in October a blockade of the Han river was declared, and the island of Kangwha was soon taken. The Koreans, however, were not disheartened. They sank junks in the river channel to block the approach to Seoul, and sent a force of some five

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4 *Supre*, p. 37.
5 *Infra*, p. 55.
6 *Supra*, p. 37.
7 T. Dennett,. *op. cit.*, p. 433,
8 T. Dennett, *loc. cit.*
9 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
10 For the full text of the French proclamation of the independence of Korea, see W. E. Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation*, pp. 376, 377, footnote.

thousand men to oust the invaders. Roze suffered heavy losses and was forced to retreat.[11]

The next Western nation to come into conflict with Korea was the United States. In 1871 an American expedition was fitted out under the joint direction of Rear-Admiral John Rogers, Commander-in-Chief of the Asiatic Squadron, and Frederick F. Low, the United States Minister to Peking, to obtain redress from the Korean government for the destruction of an American merchant vessel, the *General Sherman*, and to negotiate a treaty.[12] When the expedition reached Kangwha, the sea-gate of the capital, it attempted to establish communication with the government. While the flotilla was waiting for a reply from Seoul, two of the smaller vessels were sent up to the Han river to make observations. Here they were fired upon by the Korean forts. The fire was answered by the American ships and the forts at Kangwha were taken with the loss of a single American officer.[13] The Koreans defended the city with desperation and suffered heavy casualties. The Americans saw the hopelessness of attempting to negotiate a treaty and withdrew to China to wait for a better opportunity.[14]

The effect of these expeditions to the Hermit Nation was to lower the prestige of Western Powers in the Far East,[15] and to increase the conceit and the false sense of security of the Taiwonkun. "The Roze expedition," says Dennett, "was looked upon by Koreans, Chinese and foreigners alike as a

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11 H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea*, Vol. 2, pp. 209-211.
12 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 212.
13 W. E. Griffis, *op. cit.*, p. 417.
14 For details of the war, see Griffis, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-419; H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea*, Vol. 2, pp. 212-215.
15 "Meanwhile the smothered embers of hostility to foreign influence steadily gathered vigor, as the report spread like a gale through China that the hated Frenchmen had been driven away by the Coreans. The fires at length broke out in the Tientsin Massacre, June 21, 1870. 'It is believed by many thoughtful observers in China that this frightful event gained its first serious impetus from the unfortunate issue of Admiral Roze's campaign in Corea.' "—W. E. Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation, op. cit.*, p. 386, footnote. "It (the failure of the French expedition) is even supposed to have been one of the causes of the Tientsin massacre."—I. C. Hannah, *Eastern Asia, A History*, p. 249.

virtual defeat for France."[16] Ex-Secretary of State John W. Foster was of the opinion that the American undertaking "placed the American Minister and Navy in a false light before the world,"[17] and that it might be regarded "as the most serious blunder of American diplomacy in the Orient."[18] Errors made by the Chinese and Koreans were still greater. China, by disavowing the responsibility for Korea's act, seemed to recognize the independence of the *de facto* government of Korea. The Taiwonkun, in his bigotry and conceit, was so elated by his successes that he composed a couplet the substance of which reads: "The smoke and dust of the vessels of westerners cover the world with darkness, but the great light of the East enlightens it throughout eternity."[19]

There is a saying in Korea: "No flower blooms for ten days, and no power lasts longer than ten years." The Taiwonkun held sway for ten years, but the time came when he had to hand over his power to his son, the king. While the Taiwonkun was regent, he had married his son, the young king, to his wife's niece, hoping to insure a long lease of power. As later events proved, he had but insured his own destruction. The queen was vigorous, able, inclined toward progressive measures, and stood directly opposed to the regent's policy. She came from the Min family and became the leader of the Min faction at court. The queen's party was determined to combat the regent's power. They were so successful that in 1873 the Taiwonkun was forced to leave Seoul.[20] He did not, however, retire from politics, and the political history of the following twenty years is filled with constant intrigues and jealousies between these two factions led respectively by the queen and himself.

With the Taiwonkun out of power, a new era began. The first wedge of the opening of the long-closed doors was the signing in 1876 of a treaty of friendship and commerce

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16 T. Dennett, *op. cit.*, p. 418.
17 J. W. Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, p. 317.
18 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
19 Eun Sik Park, *The Tragic History of Korea* (韓國痛史), p. 13.
20 H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea*, Vol. 2, pp. 217, 218.

with Japan. While Korea was reënforcing her barred doors against the invasion of Western ideas, Japan had inaugurated an opposite policy and now applied her newly adopted arts of diplomacy to Korea. By the treaty the island empire recognized the independence of Korea and treated her as a friendly neighbor. Korea consented to open for trade and residence of the Japanese three ports, including Choryang[21] at Fusan, granted Japan the right to survey the coasts, and agreed to reciprocal extraterritoriality in criminal matters.[22] In 1879, Hanabusa was sent to Seoul to represent Japan, and a Korean envoy was despatched to Japan to cement the friendship.[23]

The queen's party, the Min faction, sponsored the opening of the country and took the lead in the innovations. However, the party leaders were not actuated by high motives or by foresight into international affairs, but by antipathy to the regent.[24] They did not, as Japan had done, inaugurate extensive internal reforms. There was, however, a group of liberal-minded men who were growing impatient under the slow procedure of the Mins and who formed a radical party. The Japanese in Seoul soon saw the opportunity for advancing their interests through these radical leaders and tried to bring them under their influence.[25] The Mins were not slow to understand that the Japanese were bent upon putting the power in the hands of the radicals, and for self-defence turned to China for help. China seized the opportunity at once, for she desired to retrieve the mistake she made in disavowing her responsibility for Korea's misdeeds toward other nations. This was the beginning of the "Korean Tangle."

In 1882 a mutiny occurred[26] among the Korean soldiers who had been defrauded of their pay. It was chiefly directed against the Min faction. Several were killed, the queen's palace was invaded, and the luckless lady was compelled to

21 Japanese Sorio.
22 Art. X, *Japanese-Korean Treaty*, Februry 26, 1876; H. Chung, *Korean Treaties*, p. 208.
23 For the full text of the treaty, see H. Chung, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-209. Cf. H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea*, Vol. 2, pp. 217-223.
24 *Ibid.*, p. 224.
25 *Ibid.*, pp. 223-229.
26 For fuller description of the mutiny, see *Ibid.*, pp. 225-229.

flee. At the same time the Japanese Legation was attacked by the mob and the occupants were forced to retreat to Chemulpo, and thence to Japan. The ex-regent was recalled to power, and the Min faction was for the time ousted from politics. The pro-Chinese party, however, called the Chinese to their assistance to help to restore peace. China immediately sent a force of three thousand men, at the head of which was a young and ambitions officer named Yuan Shih Kai. The troops came in the interest of the Mins, and the result was another complete change of the government. The Taiwonkun was unceremoniously sent to China, where he remained in captivity for three years, and the queen returned from her temporary banishment. Peace with Japan was patched up by paying an indemnity, and relations were resumed. By the new agreement, the Japanese minister in Seoul was allowed to maintain a legation guard.[27] Thus both China and Japan began to keep their forces in Korea, a step which was directly preparatory to the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895.

Following the mutiny of 1882 the intercourse between Japan and Korea greatly increased. During the restoration of the Taiwonkun, many of the Mins took refuge in Japan ; and a special envoy was sent to Tokyo to tender an apology for the attack on the legation. The men who went on the mission were leaders of the radical party,[28] Kim Ok Kyun, Pak Young Hyo, and Soh Kwang Bom. During their stay in Japan they made a study of the progress of the country and became profoundly impressed by it. Some of the members of the embassy, indeed, remained in Japan after their official function had been performed and continued their study of the reform movement. At the same time the student migration to Japan made its beginning and many Korean youths sojourned in the island empire. These students and radical leaders played an important part in the introduction of Protestant Christianity into Korea.[29]

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27 F. Brinkley, *A History of the Japanese People*, p. 700.
28 H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea, op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 225
29 *Infra*, pp. 83-85.

Such were the political conditions when Western nations began opening diplomatic intercourse with Korea. Obviously, "there were three possible ways to approach Korea : directly, through Japan, or through China."[30]

The first Occidental nation to obtain a treaty from Korea was the United States. April 8, 1878, Senator Aaron A. Sargent, of California, offered a resolution requesting the President to "appoint a commissioner to represent his country in an effort to arrange, by peaceful means and with the aid of the friendly office of Japan, a treaty of peace and commerce between the United States and the kingdom of Corea."[31] The bill passed the second reading, but because of the adjournment of the Congress no action was taken.[32] However, in the Fall of that year, the United States Navy sent Commodore Robert Wilson Shufeldt around the world on a commercial and diplomatic mission in the U. S. S. *Ticonderoga.* R. W. Thompson, Secretary of the Navy, instructed Shufeldt to "visit some part of Korea with the endeavor to open by peaceful measures negotiations with the government"[33] during the course of the cruise.

In April, 1880, Commodore Shufeldt reached Japan and approached the foreign office. But Japan's "friendly offices" did not go further than to forward the Commodore's letter to the king of Korea.[34] While Shufeldt was waiting for a reply from Seoul, he made the acquaintance of U Tsing, the Chinese consul at Nagasaki. The latter informed Li Hung Chang, who at that time was directing the foreign policy of China, of Shufeldt's mission.[35] Li was alarmed by the report, for it seemed to him that a close friendship between the United

30 T. Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*,,p. 462.
31 C. O. Paullin, "The Opening of Corea by Commodore Shufeldt,," *The Political Science Quarterly,* Vol. 25, pp. 470—499,; J. W. Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 323 ; W. E. Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation, op. cit.*, p. 428.
32 J. W. Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 323; W. E. Griffis, *ibid., loc. cit.*
33 T. Dennett, *op. cit.*, p. 456. Secretary Thompson's instruction of Shufeldt was dated October 29, 1878—almost immediately after the conclusion of the new treaty with Japan.
34 C. O. Paullin, *op. cit.*, pp. 479,430.
35 *Ibid.*, p. 481 ; T. Dennett, *op. cit.*, p. 457.

States and Japan would place China in a most disadvantageous position in the event of the war which was then threatening between China and Russia. The Viceroy at once invited the Commodore to Tientsin, his Summer capital, assuring him of success in his mission of opening Korea. Shufeldt soon went to Tientsin and had an encouraging interview with the Viceroy. To the commodore's surprise, Li gave him not only assurance of the opening of Korea, but also intimated a purpose of employing him to reorganize the Chinese Navy.[36] Shufeldt, after this memorable interview with Li, made a brief visit to America, and returned to the Middle Kingdom in the Spring of 1881, as the Naval Attaché to the American Legation at Peking.[37] In the Spring of the following year, a Korean officer was sent to Tientsin to consult with Li about the terms of the treaty with the United States. The actual negotiation of the Korean-American treaty took place in Tientsin between Li Hung Chang and the representatives of the United States, while the Korean envoy was kept in the background.[38] When the treaty was agreed upon, it was despatched to the government of Korea about a month ahead of Shufeldt. The latter reached Chemulpo on May 12th, in the U. S. S. *Swatara*,[39] and ten days latter the compact was signed by the Korean representatives, with very little discussion.

One of the most interesting revelations, made during the treaty negotiation, was Li Hung Chang's motive for encouraging Korea to make a treaty with the United States. The draft made by Li stipulated the exclusion of missionary work in the peninsula kingdom.[40] The viceroy's lengthy let-

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36 C. O. Paullin, *op. cit.*, pp. 481;482; T. Dennett., *op. cit.*, pp.457,458.
37 C. O. Paullin, *op. cit.*, p. 483; T. Dennett, *op. cit.*, p. 457. James B. Angell was the American Minister at Peking, but Minister Angell did not know Shufeldt's appointment until his arrival. - C. O. Paullin, *op. cit.*, pp. 483,484.
38. C. O. Paullin, *op. cit.*, pp. 486-489. "I have every reason to believe that there is at this moment in Tientsin a Korean official who is consulted at every step." - Shufeldt's letter to the Secretary of State, F. T. Frelinghuysen, April 10, 1882 Quoted by C. O. Paullin, *op. cit.*, p. 489.
39 *Ibid.*, pp. 493,494.
40 T. Dennett, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

ter to the Korean government on this point is an extremely interesting document. Li said, among other things, that Korea should make a treaty with a strong nation in the West in the order to avoid the encroachments of the Rusians and the Japanese, and cited the position of Belgium and Denmark, which are smaller nations than Chosen but which take their places among the nations of the world, because they make treaties with other nations.[41] He also cited China's own experience, stating that should the Western nations force a treaty on Korea at the point of a bayonet, Chosen would, as did China, have to grant toleration for the propagation of their religion and trade in opium.[42]

The Korean-American treaty of 1882 permitted American citizens to trade at the open ports of Korea and to erect residences and warehouses therein; it fixed rates of tariff, granted the usual privilege of consular representation and most favored nation treatment. It was, however, conspicuously silent on the matter of religious toleration. Indeed, one of the features of the treaty which won the favor of the intolerant Korea officials may have been the absence of permission for religious propaganda. Extraterritorial jurisdiction was given to American consuls, but the following provision was added: "Whenever the king of Chosen shall have so far modified and reformed the statutes and judicial procedure of his kingdom that, in the judgment of the United States, they conform to the laws and course of justice in the United States, the right of extraterritorial jurisdiction over United States citizens in Chosen shall be abandoned."[43] One of the treaty provisions which has been discussed most is the first article by which the United States gave assurance that America would stand for the political independence and territorial intergrity of Korea. The late emperor of Korea and the Korean nationalists of recent years, time and again

41 For the original Chinese text of the document, see E. S. Park, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-23. Cf. J. W. Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 323.
42 E. S. Park, *The Tragic History of Korea*, pp. 21-23.
43 *Treaty of Peace and Commerce*, May 22, 1884. H. Chung, *Korean Treaties op. cit.*, pp. 197-204, Art. IV, paragraph 5.

solicited the "good office" of the United States in their political struggles, basing their claims on the first article of the treaty.[44]

The advance of Christian missions depends always upon the advance of missionary sentiment in the mind and life of the great body of Christian people, and the deepening of the Christian missionary spirit issues from religious consecration. A study of the religious conditions and movements in America is therefore necessary, although it may seem unconnected, before we record the missionary opening of Korea.

MISSIONARY MOVEMENT IN AMERICA.

Christianity as a world religion has as a distinctive characteristic, a sensitiveness to its environment.[45] It has changed its surroundings, but it has also been altered by its environment. When it was stimulated by the vigorous intellectualism of the Greeco Roman world, it shook off the old cloak of Jewish legalism and become "Hellenized" by elaborating a Christian theology. The young religion also gave a ready response to the Roman civilization and adopted the Roman imperial system, adding laws and councils to the church organization. The "Romanized" Christianity acquired the imperialistic features of the centralized government and world dominion which were prominent characteristics of Roman civilization. In the middle ages, when that civilization was superseded by feudalism, the Church adopted the feudal principles of property-holding and the right of spiritual overlordship. During the age of the Reformation the spirit of nationalism developed, dethroned the Papal ecclesiasticism, and

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44 For the full text of the emperor's letter to the Washington government and details of the Hulbert mission, see *Korea Review* (Philadelphia), Vol. 1, No. 7, pp. 1-4, reprinted from *The Congressional Record*; H. B. Hulbert, "American Policy in the Case of Korea and Belgium," *The New York Times*, March 5, 1916; Petition from the Koreans of Hawaii to President Roosevelt; H. Chung, *The Oriental Policy of the United States*, pp. 241-245.

45 P. G. Mode, *The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity*, pp, 1-14. The present writer owes to Professer Mode the characterizations of the changing aspects of Christianity given in this paragraph.

"nationalized" Christianity by setting up national churches. When Christianity was transplanted to the new American continent, where there was no racial homogeneity and no vigorous nationalism, it adapted itself to the frontier environment which is marked by its "bouyancy, generosity, directness, and resourcefulness."[46] Thus in America Christianity has been "frontierized."

The frontier spirit gave the Americon people an enlarged world outlook and a wider missionary horizon. The missionary spirit of the American Christian is the pioneering spirit kindled by the inner urge of the sense of moral responsibility toward non-Christian peoples. This spirit first manifested itself in missionary work among the Indians in America. At the time of the Great Awakening in the eighteenth century, the missionary spirit was renewed and directed to evangelistic work among the settlers of the frontiers. This was the stage which we term the home missionary period.[47]

But it was destined to be a world movement. The great change in the attitude of Protestantism toward missions began in Europe in the eighteenth century. The growing missionary interest spread over England and Germany and prepared the way for the founding of missionary societies. The origin of the new spirit may be attributed to three great movements: the deep stimulation of spirit which resulted from the German Pietist movement; the Moravian demonstration of the power which can proceed from a little circle of Christians strong in conviction; and the epoch-making influence of the Evangelical movement in the Anglo-Saxon world. In America the missionary spirit of the nineteenth century caught fire in young and potent hearts in colleges.[48] The famous Haystack group was the vanguard of the movement. At the same time various material factors enabled these spiritual forces to

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46 P. G. Mode, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
47 P. G. Mode, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-40; E. E. White, *The Story of Missions*, pp. 120-162.
48 J. W, Chapman, *Revival Movements in the Nineteenth Century, Christendom Anno Domini MDCCCCI*, Vol. 2, pp. 64, 65.

operate on the Orient. The growth of the material wealth of the American people made possible increased gifts for missionary work. The geographical expansion of the United States brought her boundary to the Pacific Ocean and made her a leading power in the Pan-Pacific area, while the use of steam navigation made close contacts inevitable. Above all, the American people had already seen, through the life of their young nation, the evidence of the constructive value of Christianity in the upbuilding of society. The establishment of a Christian commonwealth was the cherished ideal of the Puritan fathers. Now the frontier spirit made the American people conscious of their moral responsibility for their fellow men and led them to undertake to inaugurate a new Christian world order through Christian missions.

In the history of the religious life of the American people, there have been marked fluctuations which have, as a rule, begun with a revival.[49] There was a series of revivals that not only revivified the spiritual life of the people, but also reinvigorated the moral sense of responsibility toward the peoples of non-Christian cultures. The Great Awakening of the eighteenth century, under the leadership of Jonathan Edwards, led to David Brainerd, Eleazar Wheelock, and the Mayhews—outstanding missionaries of the colonial church. During the Revolutionary War the revival spirit died out. However, from the beginning of the nineteenth century a series of revivals took place which continued unbroken to 1840.[50] One of the outstanding features of the series was the missionary zeal inplanted among college students in America. The "Society of Brethren"[51] was formed in 1806. As a result of the organization of this group, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized (1810) and sent out the first foreign missionary in the year of the opening of the second war with England. The Baptist Foreign Missionary Society was organized in 1814, the Episcopalians began foreign mission work in 1819, the Methodists in

49 P. G. Mode, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-58.
50 J. W. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 63 ; P. G. Mode, *op. cit.*, Ch. III.
51 E. E. White, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

1832, and in the following year the Presbyterian church started mission work in India.[52] Religious and missionary interest ebbed during the period of theological controversies and the slavery question and reached its low-water mark just after the war between the States. Soon after the Civil War, there emerged a great religious leader in the person of Dwight L. Moody. The revivals that followed his preaching are well known. During his lifetime, although only in part because of his efforts, many new religious movements were born, foreign missionary societies experienced a fresh growth, and Bible Societies expanded their activities. The United States was at peace and was growing rapidly in wealth, and idealism and religious interest were recovering from the reverses brought by the Civil War. The last three decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the beginning of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, the founding of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, the inauguration of Summer Bible Conferences such as those at Northfield and Winona, and the new and extensive activity of the Young Men's Christian Associations both at home and abroad. The new missionary interest in the American churches and among the colleges increased the gifts for the cause and the dedication of lives to the work.[53]

MISSIONARY APPEALS FROM JAPAN AND CHINA

When the treaty between the United States and Korea was made public, some interest was aroused among those who hoped that one of the results would be the opening of the land to missionary endeavor, and there appeared in missionary periodicals a few scattered notices on Korea. The plea for beginning religious activities in Korea, however, came forcibly to American churches later through their representatives in Japan and China. As we have already

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52 *Ibid.*, p. 197.

53 Cf. Judson Smith, *Protestant Foreign Mission : A Retrospect of the Nineteenth Century, Christian Anno Domini MDCCCI*, Vol. 2, pp. 236-244 ; J. R. Mott, *The World-Wide Student Movement, Ibid.*, pp. 307-422 ; P. G. Mode, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-78.

noticed, a Korean student migration to Japan began in the late eighties.[54] The Protestant missionaries in Japan became acquainted with these liberal-minded students. Robert S. Maclay, of the Methodist Mission, Henry Loomis of the American Bible Society, and George W. Knox of the Presbyterian Mission, had early contacts with them. These missionaries befriended the Korean political refugees, who were progressive but inexperienced patriots and eager students. They taught them the English language,[55] led them to Christian schools,[56] and preached to them as best they could.[57] In order to put the Scripture into the Korean language, one of the senior and leading converts was employed to translate the New Testament.[58] The missionaries wrote to the mission boards and the Bible Society they represented and pleaded with their superiors to open missionary work in Korea itself.[59]

These letters are interesting in view of the fact that mission agencies formed their early policy according to the advice given in them. At the same time, they reveal the prevailing contemporary situation in the peninsula. The Rev. George W. Knox wrote to the Presbyterian Board in 1883 as follows:

"Advice from Corea states that an English school has been established in the capital, with English-Chinamen as teachers, and already has seventy students. It is purposed to engage Americans or Englishmen as teachers as soon as possible. Evidently the Coreans feel the importance of Western learning. At least thirty pupils are studying Japanese, English and the various services in this city, Tokio. As I have written before, two of the students have been baptized, and I am told that many others are deeply interested in Christianity. Is no one ready for this opening in Corea? A missionary school, started at once, would have every promise of the highest success. Two clergymen and

54 *Infra*, p. 70,
55 R. S. Maclay, "*Commencement of the Korea Methodist Episcopal Church*," *The Gospel in All Lands* for November, 1896, p. 500.
56 *Ibid., loc. cit. The Foreign Missionary* for January, 1884, p. 336. *Ibid.*, for October, p. 217; for June, 1885, p. 34.
57 *The Foreign Missionary* for January, 1884, p. 386; for March, 428.
58 *Ibid.* for June, 1885, p. 34; *Annual Report of the American Bible Society* for 1884, p. 136; *ibid.*, for 1885, p. 146.
59 *The Foreign Missionary* for January, 1884, pp. 335, 336; for February. p. 374.

a physician would make a sufficient force for a start. The physician would have a virgin field, with a people eager to receive his aid....The immediate duty is the establishment of a school in the capital, if possible; if not, then in the port, only twenty miles away. The missionaries should be on the ground by April next. Cannot our church send three men to this open field? If our church cannot, will not some other church obey the call?"[60]

Pleas came also from missionaries in China. Rev. Gilbert Reid, an American Presbyterian missionary, writing from Chefoo under the date of April 14, 1884, says:

"I am still enthusiastically interested in the immediate occupation of Corea. I base my opinion on intelligence received from the Japan side, the China side, the Manchuria side, and from Corea itself. By this I mean, as you indicated in your letter of the first date, labor not as missionaries so much as in the capacity of a teacher and physician. Both teacher and physician should come well equipped, the one with proper books for teaching English, and the other with medicine and instruments. At once they would meet the respect of the people, while a half-and-half policy would arouse suspicion or contempt. I urge the sending of two such men, with such equipments, this Autumn. Foreigners are already pressing into the capital and the ports, and some, with their disreputable lives, would do immense harm to our Western civilization, unless at once counteracted by the pure, benevolent, intelligent activity of Christianity. Shall commerce go, or evangelization delay? If efforts are made, they should be made now, with, of course, the spirit of direction and as Providence now indicates. The treaties ratified with Germany and England allow places of foreign worship in the ports, while hospital work and the teaching of English would receive the sanction of the foreigners and satisfy the hope of many of the natives. We have an American Minister, and an English Council has just gone. If men should come at once, and for a few months study the work in Japan, confer with the missionaries and the Coreans there, a good preparation would be made. No doubt the place to be occupied, not as a missionary center at present, but as a center for hospital and school work, would be either the capital or the port on this side, the nearest the capital. The foreigners themselves would almost pay the salary of a physician, I presume."[61]

However, these pleas received little attention. There were several causes for the indifference of the American churches. First of all, there was ignorance of Koreans and

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60 *The Foreign Missionary* for January, 1884, p. 336.
61 *Ibid.*, for August, 1884, pp. 131, 132.

of conditions in Korea. William E. Griffis published his pioneering volume on Korea[62] in 1882, but as the author states, the name of the country did not mean any more than "sea-shell"[63] to many people. Missionary executives knew something about the severe persecution of the Catholics and the uncertainty of the political conditions, and feared to start an undertaking. There was, too, danger of a French attack on Korea. *The Foreign Missionary*, the official organ of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. expressed this fear in an editorial which reads :

"It would not be strange, in the event of the war between France and China, if from Tonquin and Formosa the French should extend their ambition to punish both China and Korea at one blow. With regard to China the grievance is a 'trumped-up' affair, like that of the wolf with the lamb at the stream, but with Korea there is a sore grudge. Once in the past a French fleet attempted to chastise Korea for the murder of eight Jesuit missionaries in a wholesale massacre of native Christians. Their overwhelming disaster in the Franco-German war put a stop to these operations for the time. But now, again on the warpath and flushed with victory, what may they not be expected to do? In view of all such possible eventualities, how great is our reason for earnest prayer that God will avert the threatened war."[64]

It ought to be added that one more reason for the hesitation was the lack of treaty permission for religious propaganda.[65] The Shufeldt treaty of 1882 gave the right to "students" to go to the country "to study the language, literature, or arts."[66] But there was no guarantee of religious freedom. Sir Harry Smith Parkes, the Minister Plenipotentiary sent by Great Britain to Korea to negotiate a treaty, in answer to a letter from Bishop Scott, of North China,[67] concerning the Anglo-Korean treaty, writes under date of January 12, 1884, as follows :

"The treaty which I have negotiated with Corea contains the provision that British subjects at ports and places to be opened to British commerce shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion....I cannot

62 W. E. Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation*.
63 *Ibid.*, p. xv.
64 *The Foreign Missionary* for September, 1884, p. 144.
65 *Supra*, p. 73.
66 Art. XI. H. Chung, *Korean Treaties*, p. 203.
67 Bishop of the Church of England.

say that it virtually sanctions missionary enterprise, as liberty to foreigners to exercise their religion is one thing, and active proselytism on their part among Corean subjects is another.....Whether the right to proselyte will be conceded or not, must in no small degree depend upon the judgment and discretion of the first pioneers of the missionary field....By the time that the first missionaries are prepared, by a competent knowledge of the language and the character of the people, we may hope to see ignorant hostility yielding to enlightenment, and opposition disarmed by a better acquaintance with the new teaching, which is now treated as heresy....Medical missions would, doubtless, prove the most competent means of overcoming the opposition of the leading classes and of enlisting the active sympathy of the people.... Missionary labor would naturally commence at the ports, and time would be required to say when it would be wise and safe to extend it into the interior."[68]

France, in accordance with her usual policy of championing Roman Catholic missions, made an earnest effort to secure a treaty provision for religious toleration, but the Korean government refused to grant it. Because of this refusal no treaty was made with France until 1886. Even then the Koreans would not yield the point. The most that France could obtain was a provision similar to that in the American and British treaties: "The Frenchmen who resort to Korea for the purpose of there studying the written or spoken language, science, law or arts, shall in testimony of the sentiment of good friendship which animates the high contracting parties always receive aid and assistance."[69]

CONVERSION OF THE KOREAN STUDENTS IN JAPAN

While the churches in America held the policy of "watchful waiting." Protestant missionaries in Japan preached to the Korean students with whom they came in contact. Some of these students entered mission schools, while others professed the Christian faith. Among these sojourners,

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68 *The Foreign Missionary* for July, 1884, p. 53.
59 Art. IX. *The Korean-French Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation*, June 4, 1886, H. Chung, *Korean Treaties*, p. 89.

Rijutei[70] was a senior and a leader. He was a man of high rank in Korea.[71] In order to save his head during the restoration of the Taiwonkun in 1882, he had fled to Japan. On his way to the Sunrise Kingdom, he secured at a Korean port a Bible in Chinese, a Commentary on Mark, and A. P. W. Martin's book on the evidences of Christianity.[72] By studying these books, Rijutei learned the essential articles of the Christian faith. Through a Japanese Christian minister, he was brought into contact with the Rev. George W. Knox and the Rev. Robert S. Maclay, and received baptism.[73]

While Rijutei was in Japan, he engaged in various Christian activities and applied his time diligently to increasing his knowledge of the new faith.[74] As he met his

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70 The Korean name of this man is not certain. Rijutei is a Japanese pronunciation of Yi—in Korean. The Report of the American Bible Society gives his Korean name as Isuchon (*Annual Report of the American Bible Society for 1885*, p. 146), while Rev. W. D. Reynolds of Korea mentions his name as being Ye Suchon (*The Korea Mission Field* (Seoul), Vol. 12, No. 5, p. 126). However, these are not two evidences in the case, as we feel that Dr. Reynolds obtained his information from the American Bible Seciey Report. Even though we grant that they are separate authorities, we still have our difficulty, for there are no two Chinese characters which can be pronounced in Korean and Japanese Suchon and Jutei respectively. As it is possible for a Korean to be known by his official name (the Il-eum in Korean, Ming in Chinese, and Namai in Japanese) and by his 'Style' or the name which is used by his friends or brothers (the Cha in Korean, Tsu in Chinese, and Chi in Japanese), Jutei and Suchon may be the Il-eum and Cha, or *vice versa*. The present writer wishes, however, to throw a clue for further investigation by identifying him with Yi Kiu Tai (李圭泰). Our contention rests upon the following evidences: (1) Rijutei is a double corruption of Yi Kiu Tai. The first corruption was made in romanizing the name into Rijutei from Rikiutai, due to the similarity of 圭 and 圭. The second corruption was the change of Rijutei from Rikiutai, due to the nearness of sound between "ei" and "ai." (2) There is indication that Yi had military knowledge: "He is about forty years of age, and held the *rank of General* in the Corean Army."—*The Gospel in All Lands* for January, 1885, p. 9. There *was* a military officer by the name of Yi Kiu Tai (李圭泰) who had a prominent part in subduing the Tong Haks in 1894.—*Tai Dong Keui Nyen* (*Chronicles of the Great East* 大東記年) (Shanghai, 1908), Bk. V, pp. 113, 116. E. S. Park, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

71 *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (henceforth this title will be abbreviated as N. P. Report) for 1885, p. 128.

72 *Ibid., loc. cit. The Foreign Missionary* for January, 1884, p. 336.

73 *The Foreign Missionary for January*, 1894, p. 336.

74 *bid., loc. cit.*

fellow countrymen, he bore testimony of his faith and brought them to Christian services. The number of those whom he interested became so large that there was talk of holding separate services for Koreans.[75] Then Rijutei, with the aid of the Bibles in the Chinese and Japanese languages, undertook to translate the Scriptures into Korean for the American Bible Society.[76] He translated many Christian tracts from Chinese into his mother tongue,[77] and wrote magazine articles on the customs and habits of his people,[78] with the hope that Western nations would be enabled better to understand the Korean people. His translation of the Gospel of Mark was published in 1884 and as a result the first ordained American missionaries coming to Korea through Japan had in their hands that Gospel in the Korean language.[79] Rijutei also sent a special petition to "the churches in America" to open mission work in Korea.[80] Through Rijutei's influence, a Korean official become interested in missionary work. This man later "obtained the sanction of the Korean King for the establishment not only of a hospital by our (Presbyterian) mission, but also of an English school."[81]

BIBLE SOCIETIES

The work of the various Bible societies during the period was the twofold work of translation and circulation. In Manchuria, John Ross, of the Scotch missionary, continued his translation of the New Testament under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society,[82] and the society set apart a colporteur to circulate the Scriptures in Korea. Concerning

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75 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
76 R. S. Maclay, "The Commencement of the Korea Methodist Episcopal Mission." *The Gospel in All Lands*, November, 1896, p. 500; *The Annual Report of the American Bible Society for 1884*, p. 136.
77 *The Foreign Missionary* for June, 1885, p. 34.
78 *Ibid.* for September, 1885, p. 166; *The Gospel in All Lands* for 1885, p. 130.
79 W. D. Reynolds, "The Contribution of the Bible Societies." *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 12, No. 5, p. 127.
80 For the full text of the petition, see the *Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (March, 1884), pp. 145, 146.
81 *N. P. Report for 1885*, pp. 128-130.
82 *Supra*, p. 56.

the latter's work Ross wrote in 1883: "Corea is now thoroughly open to colportage or tract distribution from New Chwang ....The colporteur, now gone publicly with over 1,000 Christian books to sell and distribute, was received formerly by his friends much as a ghost would be. They are now expecting his return, and some of them came here (Mukden) to see and hear for themselves what Christianity is like."[83] The National Bible Society of Scotland continued its good work at Fusan through their Japanese colporteurs.[84] In 1883, an American missionary serving under the China Inland Mission at Chefoo, A. W. Douthwaite, at the request of Alexander Williamson, the Scotch Bible Society Agent, visited Korean ports in behalf of the Scotch Society and circulated the Scriptures.[85] However, we have no record of the places he visited or of the extent of his labor or the length of time involved in the trip. The late Reverend C. F. Reid,[86] the founder of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Korea, reported that Dr. Douthwaite gave a supply of Gospels and Christian tracts to a Chinese soldier, a convert of his, who went to Korea with Yuan Shih Kai in 1883. Our authority does not cite the source of his information, but says expressly that the soldier distributed Christian literature and taught the Christian doctrine to the Koreans, until he was discovered by the Korean government. The authorities unsuccessfully demanded his execution, but succeeded in having him sent back to China. In 1883, the first Korean Bible translator, Rijutei, completed the translation of the Gospels and Acts for the American Bible Society.[87] None of these early translations has, however, been incorporated into the present form of the Korean Bible.

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83 *The Missionary Review*, Vol. 6, No. 6 (Nov. 1883), p. 420.
84 *Supra*, p. 59.
85 *China's Millions*, Vol. 9, No. 103, pp. 25, 98; *The Foreign Missionary*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (Sept. 1884), p. 139.
86 C. H. Reid, "The Beginning of Christian Work in Korea," *The Gospel in All Lands for March*, 1902, p. 115; H. G. Underwood, *Reminiscences, Quarto Cenennial Papers* read before The Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (Pyeng Yang, Korea, 1909), p. 101: L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, p. 35.
87 *The Missionary Review*, Vol. 6, No. 6, (Nov. 1883), p. 418.

INTRODUCTION OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL MISSION

American missionary agencies did not take positive steps to open a mission in Korea itself until after the coming of the first Korean Embassy to the United States (1883-1884). Soon after the conclusion of the Shufeldt treaty, the United States despatched Lucius H. Foote to represent his country in Seoul. The new American minister was received by the Korean king and queen with distinction and cordiality. Following the reception of the American minister, the Korean government sent a special mission consisting of Min Yong Ik, a nephew of the queen and a prominent official, and a colleague of equally high rank, who were taken to and from the United States on an American naval vessel.[88] The party was received with great attention by President Arthur and the American people. While the party was on its way to Washington from the West, the Reverend John F. Goucher, President of Goucher College, Baltimore, happened to be travelling on the same train.[89] During the overland journey Dr. Goucher formed a personal acquaintance with Min Yong Ik and learned much about the country which the latter represented. Goucher was intensely interested in Korea as a possible mission field and wrote to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church under date of November 6, 1885, advising "If they deem it expedient, to extend their work to the Hermit Nation and establish a mission in Korea,"[90] and produced a donation of two thousand dollars toward securing that result.[91]

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88 H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea*, Vol. 2, p. 232; W. E. Griffis, *Corea, Without and Within*, pp. 215, 216; J. W. Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, p. 326.

89 A. J. Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East*, p. 503; "The Founding of the Methodist Episcopal Mission in Korea," (Wilber C. Swearer), *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 14, 15; W. E. Griffis, *A Modern Pioneer in Korea, The Life Story of Henry G. Appenzeller*, p. 52.

90 R. S. Maclay, "Korea's Permit to Christianity," *The Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 9 (N. S.) No. 8 (Aug. 1895), p. 287.

91 *Ibid., loc. cit.* Cf. *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (henceforth it will be abbreviated M. E. North Report) for 1884, p. 204.

Dr. Goucher failed to receive encouragement from the mission board. Thereupon he wrote on January 31 of the following year to Robert S. Maclay, the Superintendent of the Methodist Mission in Japan, suggesting that he "make a trip to Korea, prospect the land and locate the mission."[92] Dr. Maclay, accompanied by his wife, made the desired visit in June, 1884. Before this time, in Japan, the Maclays had had the acquaintance of Kim Ok Kiun who "was now a member of the Department of Foreign Affairs in the Korean government."[93] Maclay sent a letter written in Japanese, which he had brought with him, to the king through Kim.[94] In this letter or petition he requested permission to open a school and medical work in Korea.[95] Four days after the presentation of the petition, on July 3, 1884, Maclay called on Kim to receive his reply. "He received me very cordially," says Maclay "and at once proceeded to inform me that the king had carefully examined my letter the night before, and in accordance with my request had decided to authorize our society to commence hospital and school work in Korea. 'The details,' continued, Mr. Kim, 'have not yet been settled, but you may proceed at once to initiate the work.' "[96] This favorable reply contained no official permission to purchase or to rent property.[97] However, Maclay asked the American Minister, Foote, to purchase a piece of property near the Legation.[98] Upon his return to Japan, Maclay recommended that the Mission Board "begin educational and medical work, using no disguise as to the ultimate object being evangelization,"[99] and added: "schools would be welcome, and hospitals are a necessity."[100] He further assured the Board that there was no fear of opposition from the Korean govern-

92 R. S. Maclay, *op. cit.*, p. 287.
93 *Ibid.*, p. 289. Cf. A. Stead, *Japan by the Japanese*, p. 190.
94 *Ibid.*, p. 289.
95 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
96 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
97 R. S. Maclay, "Commencement of the Korea Methodist Episcopal Mission," *The Gospel in All Lands* for 1896, p. 489.
98 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
99 M. E. North Report for 1884, pp. 204, 205.
100 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

ment.[101] Thus the veteran missionary to China and Japan was honored with the title of "foster father" of the Korea Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[102]

In the meantime, the *Christian Advocate*, the leading church paper of the Methodist Church, published a number of articles citing conditions in Korea,[103] and urged the opening of a mission there. *The Gospel in All Lands*, the organ of the Foreign Mission Board, printed constant appeals sent by Methodist representatives in Japan.[104] In response to these appeals, a number of gifts were forwarded to the Board supplementing that of Dr. Goucher for work in Korea. In 1883 a sum of five thousand dollars was added to the appropriation for Japan in order to open a mission in Korea,[105] and toward the end of the following year William B. Scranton, M. D., Rev. Henry G. Appenzeller and Mrs. Mary F. Scranton were appointed, the pioneer missionaries of the Methodist church to Korea.[106]

INTRODUCTION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN MISSION

The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America began its interest in Korea through its missionaries in Japan, especially upon the receipt of Rijutei's appeal for the establishment of a mission in the peninsular kingdom.[107] Rev. George W. Knox planned to visit Korea in November, 1883, but circumstance beyond his control prevented the trip.[108] Mission board executives were divided on the question of the opening of a mission in Korea.[109] Forward-looking men, like Dr. F. F. Ellinwood favored immediate occupation, while

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101 M. E. North Report for 1884, pp. 204, 205.
102 M. E. North Report for 1885, p. 235. Cf. *The Missionary Review of the World*. Vol. 9 (N. S.) No. 4, p. 287.
103 W. E. Griffis, *A Modern Pioneer in Korea*, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 53.
104 *The Gospel in All Lands* for 1882 (July-December), pp. 57, 157, 161, 179, 302; for 1885, pp. 1-15.
105 M. E. North Report for 1884, pp. 29, 204.
106 *Ibid.*, p. 205.
107 N. P. Report for 1885, pp. 128, 129. Cf. *The Missionary Review of the World*. Vol. 7, No. 2, (March 1884), pp. 145, 146.
108 George W. Knox, "The Condition of Korea," *The Foreign Missionary*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (Sept. 1884), p. 168.
109 H. G. Underwood, *Reminiscences*, p. 99.

others believed that they should wait some years. The senior secretary of the American Board published a lengthy article urging delay in entering Korea. Mr. David W. McWilliams, a Christian layman and a member of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, read the article and inquired of Dr. Ellinwood about its merits. Dr. Ellinwood convinced Mr. McWilliams of the advisability of occupying Korea at once.[110] As an executor of the estate of Frederick Marquand, Mr. McWilliams in February, 1884, placed five thousand dollars at the disposal of the Presbyterian Board with which to start the Korea Mission,[111] and other contributions were soon added to the fund. A "young physician of excellent training and devoted spirit," Dr. John H. Heron, was willing to go,[112] and was appointed in the spring of 1884, the first Presbyterian missionary to Korea. However, the board felt that "the time has not yet come for the open proclamation of the Gospel in Corea," and Heron was instructed to go to Japan and there to engage in the study of the Korean language. He delayed and did not reach the field until June, 1885.

Among Protestant churches, the Presbyterian church in the U. S. A. has the honor of sending the first resident missionary to the long closed land. While the missionary authorities were hesitating over the advisability of immediately opening a mission in the peninsula, the foreign residents in Shanghai and other Far Eastern ports were flocking to the newly opened country.[113] About this time Dr. Horace N. Allen, a medical missionary under the Presbyterian board, assigned to China, had arrived on the field but had not definitely settled on his work. When Dr. Allen "had drifted around China for a year....he become....rather disappointed

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110 H. G. Underwood, *Reminiscences*, p. 99; A. J. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 501; L. H. Underwood, *op. cit.* p. 35.

111 *The Foreign Missionary*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (June, 1884) p. 3.

112 *Ibid, loc. cit.*

113 H. N. Allen, *Things Korean*, p. 15. Dr. Allen enumerates his fellow passengers from Chemulpo to Shanghai on the S. S. *Nanzing* as follows; "Prof. Hertz, Mr. Seech, and a prostitute from Shanghai."—Allen Diary, October 11, 1884, The New York Public Library.

as to the prospect for actual medical work.[114] Some of the prominent men in Shanghai offered him letters of recommendation to foreigners who were in governmental and diplomatic service in Korea, and encouraged him to go to the newly opened country by assuring him "a rather lucrative practice."[115] At the same time Allen's medical friends in Shanghai urged him to go and grow up with the country.[116] However, Allen, being a cautious man, wrote to Joseph Haas, who was in the Korean Customs Service, inquiring whether the foreign residents needed a physician.[117] Two days later, on June 8, 1884, he submitted the matter to the mission authorities in New York by letter, requesting them to give instruction by telegraph, as he intended, if the board should disapprove of his plans, to sever his connection with it.[118] Fortunately Allen was advised by cablegram,[119] received on July 22, to go to Korea in the interests of the mission board. The young doctor left Shanghai on September 14, arriving at Chemulpo September 20, 1884, and two days later was in Seoul. Thus the first resident Protestant missionary entered the land.

The Honorable Horace Newton Allen, physician, missionary, and diplomat, was born at Delaware, Ohio, on April 23, 1858. He was graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1881 with the degree of Bachelor of Science. He received his medical training at Miami Medical College, Oxford, Ohio, graduating in 1883. He was appointed by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to China as a medical missionary, reached Shanghai on October 11, 1883, and "drifted around" in Shanghai and Nanking until September of 1884, when, as has been said, he came to Korea to open missionary work. He was at once appointed physician to the American Legation

114 Hon. Horace N. Allen, *Greetings, Quarto Centennial Papers, op. cit.*, p. 2.
115 H. N. Allen, *Things Korean*, p. 167.
116 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
117 The letter was dated June 6, 1884. The Allen Papers, *op. cit.*
118 *Ibid.*
119 The cablegram reads, "Holt, Shanghai, Corea."—*The Allen Diary.* It was not "Allen, Korea." as given in A. J. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

and to other diplomatic establishments in Seoul. By saving the life of a wounded prince, he won the favor of the court and was made the court physician. At the request of Dr. Allen, the Korean Government Hospital was established in 1885 and Allen was placed in charge of it. In 1887 he resigned his connection with the Mission Board to become a secretary of the Korean Legation at Washington. In 1889, Dr. Allen was reappointed by the Board but severed his relationship again in August, 1890, to become the secretary of the American Legation at Seoul. In 1897 he was promoted to Minister Resident and Consul General, and in 1901 to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. He held the Korean post until 1905. He was thrice decorated by the Korean king.

INDEPENDENT CHINESE MISSIONARIES

But to return. Soon after Allen had made the necessary arrangements in Seoul he went back to Shanghai to bring his family to the new field. On the return journey, at Nagasaki, an English missionary joined the Allens. The new companion was Archdeacon J. R. Wolfe, of the Church Missionary Society, then residing at Foochow, China. Following the excitement of the French war in China and the accompanying unrest in Foochow, his physician advised Wolfe to take a change of air and scene for the benefit of his health. During his short trip to Korea[120] Wolfe was greatly impressed by the fact that there was not "the abominable and cruel custom of foot binding, no crime of infanticide, no idols nor idol temples," but felt the need of a religion to be great. Upon his return to Foochow, he attended the Annual Meeting of the Provincial Council of the South China Mission[121] and gave an account of his recent visit, telling of the great need and opportunity for missionary

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120 For the full account of the visit, see the Rev. J. R. Wolfe, "A Visit to Corea," *The Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record*, Vol. 10 (N. S.) for June, 1885, pp. 418-430. Cf. *Allen Diary*, October 26, 1884.

121 J. R. Wolfe, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

work.[122] One of the Chinese clergy and three Chinese lay evangelists volunteered to go and begin a mission.[123] Thereupon Wolfe applied twice[124] to the home authorities of the Church Missionary Society for a grant for the purpose of supporting the Chinese evangelists in Korea or for permission to raise funds by personal appeal. The Church Missionary Society Committee did not feel that they were able to establish a regular mission of the society in Korea, nor to incur the responsibility of a purely native mission, and deprecated Wolfe's solicitations.[125]

The Church Missionary Society neither undertook the work nor gave financial assistance. But Wolfe's project did not fail, for the money for the expense of starting the mission was contributed by the people at Foochow and friends in Australia.[126] The dream came to realization, after a year's endeavor, when the valedictory dismissal of the "first Protestant Mission to Corea"[127] was held in Foochow (November, 1885). Archdeacon Wolfe, accompanied by two Chinese evangelists, sailed for Korea, arriving at Fusan toward the end of the same month. These Chinese missionaries settled at that port for their work.[128] We have no record of their progress until Wolfe made his second visit of inspection in the fall of 1887. This time Bishop Bichersteth, of Japan, and Bishop Scott, of North China,[129] accompanied him and visited towns and villages around Fusan.[130] These churchmen were cordially welcomed by the people wherever they went

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122 *Annual Report of the Church Missionary Society Committee for 1884-1885*, pp. 181, 182.
123 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
124 Selection from Proceedings of Committee, *The Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record* (N. S.) Vol. 10, pp. 258, 874, 1885.
125 *Ibid.*, for April, 1885, p. 258.
126 *The C. M. S. Committee Report for 1886*. pp. 187, 188. *The Missionary Review* (Princeton, N. J.) Vol. 9, No. 2 (March, 1886), p. 164; *The C. M. Intelligencer*, Vol. 11 (Feb., 1886), p. 113.
127 *The C. M. Intelligencer* for February, 1886, p. 114. This claim for being "The first Protestant Mission to Corea" is contrary to the facts.
128 *The C. M. Intelligencer* for February, pp. 113-116.
129 *The C. M. Intelligencer and Record* for January, 1888, pp. 51, 52; *The Chinese Recorder* for October, 1887, p. 403.
130 *The C. M. Intelligences and Record* for Jan. 1888, pp. 51, 52.

and met no opposition to their occasional preaching.[131] They found that the Chinese missionaries had gotten in touch with a small band of literary men, but that none of the latter had accepted the Faith.[132] In the following year. Rev. J. Martin of the Church Missionary Society, resident in China, paid a visit to the catechists at Fusan and found that there were fifty or sixty people who were friendly. Some of them expressed their willingness to embrace the religion, were the king to withdraw the prohibition of Christianity.[133] The Chinese catechists could not engage in public preaching but met a few callers from the literary class who could enjoy the Chinese classics with them. The mission continued up to 1890 and withdrew in that year, when the Mission of the Church of England, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, entered the country.[134]

The result of the missionary work of the Church Missionary Society in Korea must not be judged by numbers. As far as we know, no converts were made. The indirect effect, however, was great. As we have already seen, Archdeacon Wolfe, when he had failed in his approach to his own society, had turned to the Australians for funds.[135] In 1887, after his second visit, he sent out an eloquent appeal to the Australians to send missionaries to Korea. This letter was printed in a little missionary paper published by the late Rev. H. B. Macartney, in Victoria. In response to this appeal the late Rev. Henry Davies became the first Australian missionary to Korea;[136] his acts we shall record in the following pages. Another interesting indirect result of the work was the introduction of an English missionary agency to Korea. When Sir Harry Smith Parkes had concluded a treaty with Korea in 1883, the Anglican Bishops in China, Burden, Moule, and

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131 *The C. M. Intelligencer and Record* for Jan. 1883, pp. 51, 52.
132 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
133 *Ibid.*, for May, 1889, pp. 346, 347; *Annual Report of the C. M. S. Committee for 1889*, pp 187, 188.
134 E. Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, Vol. 5, p. 565; M. N. Trollope, *The Church in Corea*, p. 28.
135 *Supra*, p 79.
136 M. S. Davies, "The Pioneer Australian Missionary to Korea," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Feb., 1821), pp. 24, 25.

Scott, appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a joint letter, to open missions in Korea.[137] The Archbishop in turn forwarded the appeal to the Church Missionary Society, and the Committee expressed their desire to comply with the appeal when means and men were secured.[138] Neither appeared. Later it was found that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was able to start a mission in Korea and accordingly, in 1890, it despatched Bishop Corfe to that land.[139]

The results of direct or indirect missionary activities during these eventful years cannot and must not be measured in figures and numbers, for the indirect missionary influence brought to bear upon Korea through intercourse with foreign nations is immeasurable. We cannot estimate the stimuli and incentives that progressive leaders received from their contacts with missionaries in Japan.[140] Nor can we determine the influence of the liberal ideas received by the young man who came to the United States with the first Korean Embassy.[141] These men became the instruments for opening the long-closed doors of prejudice and ignorance. In fact,

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137 E. Stock, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 565; Trollope, *op. cit.*, p. 29; *Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, 1701-1892, pp. 713, 714.

138 E. Stock, *op. cit.*, p. 565.

139 *Ibid., loc. cit.*, *Digest of S. P. G. Records*, pp. 713, 714; M. N. Trollope, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

140 Kim Ok Kiun, the leader of the émeute of 1884 (*infra*, p. 107) won the friendship of the missionaries in Japan and gave assistance to Maclay during the latter's prospecting trip to Korea (supra, p. 88). Another reformer, Park Young Hyo, now Marquis Park, gave the first lesson in Korean to Rev. William B. Scranton, M.D., the first medical missionary of the Methodist Church.—*The Gospel in All Lands* for 1885, p. 329.

141 So Kwang Bom or Bom K. Soh who had come to America first as the secretary of the Korean Embassy in 1884, later returned to the same country as a political refugee, following the failure of émeute of 1884, and studied at Rutgers College; and still later Soh represented his country at Washington as the Minister of Korea. —The editorial note. "The First Koreans in America," *The Korea Review*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (May, 1922), p. 11. Suh Chai Pil, better known as Dr. Philip Jaisohn, of Philadelphia, reformer and patriot, received his education in the United States. When the Korean Prince Eui Wha was sent to study abroad, he entered Ohio Wesleyan University.

some of them played very important parts in bringing the Protestant missionaries into Korea.[142] The moral influence of these men upon the masses during the following reform era aided the rapid growth of Christianity.[143]

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142 *Supra*, p. 71.
143 See next chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MISSIONS, 1885-1890

The first Protestant missionary societies to begin evangelistic efforts in Korea were the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and the Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. These two agencies started their work simultaneously, carried it on side by side, and have organized the majority of the churches existing in Korea today. "Remember the source," says an old Korean proverb, "when you drink the water." In this chapter we shall survey the home bases of the societies, and the establishment of these two missions in Korea.

HOME BASE OF MISSIONS

The question "What is the home base of missions?" is variously answered. But the statement made at the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910 will serve our purpose: "The home base is the widely extending organization in Christendom through which foreign missions are supported and directed, and this statement must stand as true until the foreign missions of the church in Christian lands are absorbed into home missions in the countries at present non-Christian."[1] There will always be the home base, so long as there are foreign mission. The home base of missions must provide means by which "the church at home may adequately discharge its responsibility for the evangelization of the world."[2] It, therefore, includes the great body of Christian people who desire to share the depth and sincerity of their religious experience and the intensity and daring of their faith with non-religious peoples, expressing them through agencies which represent their

1 World Missionary Conference, 1910. Report of Commission VI, *The Home Base of Missions*, p. I.
2 World Missionary Conference, 1910. Report of Comission VI, *The Base of Missions*, p. 6.

interests. These agencies are the foreign mission boards and foreign missionary societies.

The foreign missionary work of the Presbyterian Church in America was, at its beginning, a part of the work of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. A Board of Correspondents of the Society was established in the new continent in 1741, and appointed Rev. Azariah Horton as a missionary to the Indians in Long Island. David Brainerd was the second missionary of the Presbyterian church, and was sent to the Delaware and Susquehanna Indians. In 1796, the New York Missionary Society was organized by Presbyterians, but was independent of any Presbyterian supervision. Another independent body, the Western Missionary Society, was formed in 1797. These two organizations carried on work among the Indians in America. In 1800, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church began to undertake mission work and received collections for the enterprise, and sent missionaries to the Indians until 1818, when the United Foreign Missionary Society was formed. The object of the new society was "to spread the Gospel among the Indians of North America, the inhabitants of Mexico and South America, and to other portions of the heathen and anti-Christian world."[3] But the new society ceased operation in 1826, and transferred all the missionaries under its care to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. However, in 1831 the Synod of Pittsburgh organized the Western Foreign Missionary Society for the purpose of "Conveying the Gospel to whatever points of the heathen and anti-Chrisstian world the providence of God might enable it to extend its evangelical exertions,"[4] and planted missions in India, Africa and among the American Indians. In 1837, the General Assembly established the present Board of Foreign Mission; and to it the Western Foreign Missionary Society transferred all its work. The Board is simply a permanent

3 Art. Presbyterian Church (North), U. S. A., Board of Foreign Missions, *The Encyclopaedia of Missions*, ed. by E. N. Bliss.
4 Art. Presbyterian Church (North), U. S. A., Board of Foreign Missions, *The Encyclopaedia of Missions*, ed. by E. N. Bliss.

committee of the General Assembly. The members, forty in number,[5] are appointed by the Assembly, which possesses exclusively the general authority for supervising and controlling the work of missions, the board being but a form of its executive agency. When, in 1838, the church was divided into Old and New schools, the "Old School" retained control of the board, while the "New School" prosecuted its work through the American Board by a committee on Foreign Missions. In 1870 these schools were reunited, and since that time all the missions of the Presbyterian church, with the exception of the work of the Southern Church, have been carried on through the Board of Foreign Missions. When, in 1884, the Korea Mission was opened, the Presbyterian church had already established missions in Mexico, South America, West Syria, Persia, India, Siam, China, and Japan.[6]

The impulse for the formation of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church arose from the conversion of John Stewart, a drunken negro in Marietta, Ohio, who was converted through the efforts of a Methodist preacher.[7] In the eighteenth century there existed many local Methodist missionary organizations in large cities. At a meeting of preachers in New York in 1818, the ministers felt that the time had come for American Methodism to join in missionary work, and organized the Bible and Missionary Society. In the following year, at the meeting of the General Conference, the Society was endorsed and the constitution was amended so as to make in purely a missionary society. The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was then instituted, with Bishop William McKendree as its first president. The object of the society was "to diffuse more generally the blessings of education and Christianity, and to promote and support missionary schools and Christian missionaries through-

5 Art. I, By-Laws of Administration of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. as adopted on March 15, 1926.

6 Cf. A. Green, *Presbyterian Missions*, pp. 22-112; R. E. Speer, *Presbyterian Foreign Missions*, pp. 9-18.

7 J. M. Reid, *Mission and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, revised by J. T. Gracey, Vol. 1, p. 14.

out the United States and territories, and also in foreign countries, under such rules and regulations as the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church may from time to time prescribe."[8] Originally the society was composed of members who, by contribnting a certain lump sum to the funds of the society, had acquired the right of voting at its meetings, When, in 1844, the charter was changed, the General Conference assumed the supervision of missionary work. In that year, however, the church schism occurred and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was formed. The Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church is really the church itself acting through its various forms of organization. The General Conference which meets once in four years appoints two bodied: the one known as the General Missionary Committee, which is composed of the bishops as *ex officio* members, thirty-two laymen, and the same number of ministers, and which meets once a year to appropriate money and select mission fields; the other called the Board of Managers, which is composed of the bishops as *ex officio* members, the district superintendents, the secretaries and treasurers of the board, and which meets once a month or oftener. When a foreign mission is organized into a conference, it receives the notice of appropriation directly from the General Missionary Committee, and when it is not so organized, the Board ef Managers furnishes the information concerning appropriations. All funds for the missions pass through the hands of the Board of Managers, who account to the General Missionary Committee, and they in turn to the General Conference. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the denomination was not organized until 1869. The management of this society is in the hands of an executive committee. The funds, receipts, aud appropriations are entirely distinct from those of the parent board, and missionaries are listed separately. While there is complete co-

8 Art. Methodist Episcopal Church (North) U. S. A., Foreign Missionary Society, *The Encyclopaedia of Missions*, ed. by E. N. Bliss; Art. I, Constitution of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

operation, the two societies are distinct. Before they opened work in Korea (1885), these two societies had established missions in Africa, South America, India, China, Japan, Mexico, Malaysia, and Bulgaria.[9]

MISSIONARY MOVEMENTS IN AMERICA

In the history of the missionary enterprise in America, the year 1880 marks the birth of a new missionary interest among students in theological seminaries. The students of Princeton Theological Seminary felt that they were "justified in concluding that a genuine missionary revival was needed in the church; and especially among theological students."[10] They were "led to consider the establishment of some permanent system of inter-Seminary Correspondence on the subject of mission," and sent out circulars early in January, 1880, "To the students of All Evangelical Seminaries in the U. S. A."[11] to secure their "counsel and co-operation." Almost simultaneously the students of the Hartford Theological Seminary, following the "Week of Prayer" at the beginning of 1880, wrote circular letters "To students for the Christian Ministry"[12] requesting special prayer and dedication of life for missions on "the Day of Fasting and Prayer for Colleges and Theological Seminaries."[13] These circulars evidently voiced the ripening sentiment of theological students, for the movement resulted in proposing an Inter-Semimary Convention "to be attended by delegates from all the theological institutions of the country, with a view to extend and deepen interest among all candidates for the ministry."[15] The first

9 Art. Methodist Episcopal Church (North) U. S. A., Foreign Missionary Society, *The Encyclopaedia of Missions*, ed. by E. N. Bliss; J. M. Reid, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 9-30; M. E. Wheeler, *First Decade of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, pp. 15-46.

10 "Theological Students and Foreign Mission," *The Missionary Review* (Princeton), Vol. 3, No. 2 (March, 1880), pp. 131-128.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 131.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 135.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

14 *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

15 *The Missionary Review* (Printeton), Vol. 8, No. 4 (June, 1880), p. 358.

convention was held in October, 1880, at New Brunswick, New Jersey, and the American Inter-Seminary Alliance was formally organized.[16] After that, the Alliance held conventions every year at theological seminary centers until it merged with the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association in 1897.[17] Among the early missionaries to Korea, as we shall see, many made their decisions for foreign mission work either during or following these conventions.

The missionary motives of the generation of students as set forth in the documments that we have mentioned are well summarized in their belief in "the woe of the heathen and the command of Christ."[18] They felt that the spirit of Christianity was essentially missionary and that the lack of an interest in missions argued a corresponding lack of Christian consecration.[19] The great command "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature"[20] was personal and real to these men as they viewed the accessibility of non-Christian peoples.[21] The awful responsibility of Christian people toward the "heathen who were perishing at the rate of two million a month"[22] without the Gospel weighed heavily on their consciences. They believed that the "Lord would hasten his coming"[23] and that the time had come to preach "the gospel of the kingdom....in all the world for a witness unto all nations."

FOUNDING OF THE PRESBYTERIAN MISSION

As we have already seen, the first Protestant missionary to come with the intention of residing permanently in Korea was Dr. H. N. Allen, of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

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16 "Inter-Seminary Convention of Theological Students," *The Missionary Review* (Princeton), Vol. 4, No. 1 (January, 1881), pp. 35-41.
17 R. P. Wilder, "The Movement among Theological Students," *The Intercollegian*, Vol. 21, (Oct. 1898), pp. 8-10.
18 *The Missionary Review* (Princeton), Vol. 4, No. 1, (Jan. 1881), p. 40.
19 *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (March, 1880), p. 131.
20 *Make* 13:15.
21 *The Missionary Review*, Vol. 3, No. 2. (March, 1880), p. 131.
22 *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Jan. 1880), p. 358.
23 *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (March, 1880), p. 137.

It will be recalled that he arrived in September, 1884.[24] The foreign residents in Seoul were glad to welcome him, for they were in great need of a physician. On the day after his arrival at Seoul, September 23, 1884, Dr. Allen called at the American Legation to pay his respects to the American Minister, General Foote. He made the following entry on that day with regard to his visit: "I was gladly received because of the great need of a doctor. He [General Foote] formally appointed me physician to the legation (without salary) and offered me his help." Subsequently Dr. Allen was appointed to be the physician of the British Legation and the other diplomatic establishments. Therefore, when the king asked General Foote if Allen was a missionary, he was given the answer: "he is physician to the legation."[25] In his status as a missionary, he would not have been allowed in the country. The Korean government had fresh in its memory the complications that had arisen out of the presence of French Catholic missionaries. The masses, moreover, had not forgotten the massacre of the Catholics and the anti-foreign edicts. As late as the preceding year a Chinese Christian soldier had been deported for daring to sell Christian scriptures in Seoul.[26] In spite of unfavorable circumstances, the pioneer missionary started at once to lay foundations for future work. Through the American Minister, he purchased a piece of property near the American Legation.[27] He remodeled a Korean house for

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24 *Supra*, p. 91.

25 Allen's letter to F. F. Ellinwood from Seoul dated Oct. 8, 1884.—The Allen papers, deposited in the New York Public Library.

26 *Supra*, p. 86.

27 The property which Allen acquired for his mission was originally occupied by a man who was murdered during the mutiny of 1882 (*supra*, p. 88). This had been left unoccupied, for it was believed to be haunted.—*The Foreign Missionary*, Vol. 42, No. 8 (January, 1886), p. 324. When Maclay visited Seoul in June, 1884 (*supra*, p. 88) he and his wife occupied the house and expressed to the American Minister the desire to purchase it for his mission. But the Legations wanted a physician near at hand, so the property was turned over to Allen. Dr. Allen made the following entry in his diary in regard to this purchase, recording the Minister's conversation with him; "'I will frankly tell you the fact in this case. Last summer an old man, Dr. Maclay of Japan, thrust himself upon us and so pestered me that I finally agreed to get this property for him to start a mission upon, with the distinct

the occupation of his family and added other adjoining properties for his associates. In October, he returned to China to bring his family.

On October 26, Dr. Allen returned to Seoul with his family and supplies. The following description reveals the early conditions under which the pioneer missionaries lived: "When we finally set up housekeeping in Seoul we had a store room that looked like a country grocery at home, for there were no foreign goods on sale in Seoul."[28] The Allen household was a cosmopolitan one, with a Japanese cook, who was hired at Nagasaki, a Chinese nurse for the child, who had been brought from China; and a Korean language teacher. Medical practice among the foreign residents kept the doctor busy, but he made an attempt to study the language. In regard to missionary work, we observe the following entry in Dr. Allen's diary: "As we have daily prayers and religious observances we think we may do a little good even in this way." We do not know how much these religious practices impressed the household servants, but remarkable experiences were had with the language teachers. Allen's first teacher was Yi Ha Young, who later became the Korean Chargé d'Affairs at Washington. The second was Mr. No Tohsa.[29] There has grown up much of legend concerning the manner in which Mr. No secured the Christian gospels. We believe Dr. Allen's diary is correct: "This present teacher is the one who *borrowed* my Chinese Testament on the afternoon of the day when the trouble broke out.[30] I cautioned him through

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understanding that he was to wait till the way was open. But you came and we were so anxious to have the physician near that I turned it over to you. I objected but 'twas too late, the bargain was made, and I could not back out." Dr. Allen wrote Dr. Maclay "expressing his earnest hope that by having done so (purchasing the property) he would not put the (Methodist) society to serious inconvenience or embarrass it in the execution of its purpose to commence missionary work in Korea."—R. S. Maclay, "Commencement of the Korea Methodist Episcopal Mission," *The Gospel in All Lands* for October, 1896, p. 500.

28 H. N. Allen, *Greetings, Quarto Centennial Papers* read before The Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., p. 6.

29 For his name and portrait, see the cover of *Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 7, No. 5, June, 1910.

30 The December émeute, 1884. *Infra, p.* 91

an interpreter that he would have his head cut off if found reading it, but he shook his head knowingly and took risks."[31] Mr. No read the forbidden book, though in secret, and became a Christian, whose story we will record in subsequent pages.

ÉMEUTE OF DECEMBER, 1884

While Dr. Allen was laying the foundations for a "peaceful revolution"[32] at the ancient capital, the radical leaders in the government were laying plots for inaugurating a bloody one. In Korea, what may be done by a change of government in England or by impeachment in America was often accomplished by revolution. The leaders of the movement included Kim Ok Kyun, Pak Young Hyo, Soh Kwang Pom, Hong Young Sik, and Soh Chai Pil. These men were imbued with a desire to overturn the corrupt, impotent, and intriguing government and set up a better one, for they had seen the new conditions in Japan. They were young and energetic patriots, but lacked wisdom and experience. Since the restoration of the Mins, when the Taiwonkun had fallen for the second time, the court had been distinctly pro-Chinese and had adhered consistently to a conservative policy. The masses, moreover, were untouched with modern ideas of government. Far-sighted statesmen might have inaugurated a gradual transformation, but the impatient Japanese desired to extend their foothold in Korea through these radical leaders, and made them their protegees. While China was at war with France and was having her attention absorbed in defending her own boundaries, the revolutionists saw the opportunity and adopted the policy of "now or never."[33]

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31 The Allen Diary entry of January 29, 1885. The popular story has been that Mr. No stole the Testament. Dr. Allen himself confirmed the story later by adding that ' The stolen Testament made this man just enough of a Christian to allow him to enter the Methodist Church and retain the goods, but not enough to get him into the Presbyterian Church."—H. N. Allen, *Greetings, Quarto Centennial Papers, op. cit.*, p. 7.

32 *Supra*, p. 2.

33 A Japanese view on the matter will be interesting. Mr. N. Ariga says : "But in 1884 France began an armed conflict with China, and the decrepit old empire seemed to be no match for the vigorous

The revolutionists' plan was to assassinate the leading reactionary ministers, and to seize the control of the king. The time chosen for the uprising was the banquet given for the opening of the first post office in Seoul, on the night of December 4, 1884. The diplomatic corps at the capital, with the exception of the Japanese Minister,[34] who had excused himself on the plea of illness, and many prominent Korean officials, attended the festival. The revolutionists hid assassins in accessible places near the banquet hall to murder the conservative leaders. The signal for the uprising was to be given by setting fire to the adjacent building and to the newly constructed post office. When the banquet was at its height the fire alarm was given. As the dignitaries hastened from the banquet hall, they were caught and murdered. While the massacre was in progress, the revolutionary leaders

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republic of the West. The Japanese party in Korea now saw a good opportunity of striking a decisive blow against the Chinese party, and it is likely that some of the politicians in Japan more or less countenanced this attempt."—A Stead, *Japan by Japanese*, p. 190.

34 "How far the Japanese Minister was responsible for the original conspiracy, whether he was a conscious partner in it, or his own want of judgment and perspicacity made him merely a tool in the hands of the astute and unscrupulous Koreans, is not publicly known, though a critical investigation of all the facts that are known tend to show that he was both a tool and a conspirator."—J. H. Longford, *The History of Korea*, p. 323. "It is generally accepted as true that the progressive leaders had a distinct understanding with the Japanese. A Japanese man-of-war was on the way to Chemulpo and was expected to arrive on the fifth or sixth of December,"—H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea*, Vol. 2, p. 235. Our Japanese authority to whom we have referred wrote: "The Japanese Minister Takezoye, who had been in Tokyo from some months, returned to Seoul in October of 1884, and began active intercourse with the persons whom he supposed to belong to the Japanese party. He now freely spoke of the approaching destruction of China and of the opportunity for Corea of declaring her absolute independence.—N. Ariga, *Diplomacy* in *Japan by Japanese*, ed. by A. Stead, p. 190. The same author confirms Hulbert's statement by adding the following revelation: "Boku-ei-ko (Pak Young Hyo in Korean) now proposed to remove with the Royal family to Kokwa (Kangwha in Korean) harbor, and there wait for Japanese reinforcements.—Ariga, *op. cit.*, p. 193. Tyler Dennett interprets the Ariga statement as follows: "While Prof. Nagao Ariga, the writer of the accout, does not state that Takezoye organized the *coup d'etat* which followed, the inference that he was by no means innocently involved, as the Koreans claimed and as Foulk believed, is very reasonable."—T. Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, p. 488, bibliographical notes.

entered the palace—through a previous understanding with the palace attendants—, rushed to the king's chamber, and informed the sleepy monarch that the Chinese soldiers were carrying on arson in the city and had set fire to the new post office as a mark of their disapproval of Korea's entrance into the family of nations. The king was urged to call the Japanese troops to guard the palace, lest the Chinese should enter. The king was undecided, but one of the revolutionists penciled a note to the Japanese legation, without the signature of the king or the seal of the state.[35] The Japanese soldiers, who had been in readiness, immediately marched into the palace. The radical leaders formed a new government and put to death the rest of the reactionary ministers. The new government, however, lasted only two days. The Chinese interfered to aid their conservative friends, and a clash followed between them and the Japanese. The fight between one hundred and forty Japanese and some thousand Chinese terminated in the retreat of the former from Seoul—for the second time since 1882. Most of the revolutionary leaders were caught and executed, only three of them escaping to Japan with the retreating Japanese troops. Thus ended what is known as the émeute of December, 1884.[36] The Sino-Japanese difficulties arising from the *coup* were settled by the Tientsin convention (April 18, 1885) negotiated by Li Hung Chang and Hirobumi Ito, both powers agreeing that they would withdraw their

35 As to the author of the note, there are different accounts. Mr. Ariga says: "The King...drew up with his own hands a hasty note, stamped it with the seal of State, and sent it to Takezoye asking for immediate aid."—A. Stead, *op. cit.*, p. 193. Prof. Hulbert differs from Mr. Ariga, as he states: "Su Kwang Pom drew out a piece of foreign note paper and a pencil and wrote in Chinese the words 'Let the Japanese Minister come and give me his help.'"—H. B. Hulbert, *op. cit.*, p. 237. Prof. Longford harmonizes the conflicting statements by saying: "Two messengers were promptly dispatched to the Japanese Minister...with letters requesting his immediate presence at the palace. They were followed by a third bearing an autograph letter from the king to the same effect."—J. H. Longford, *The Story of Korea*, p. 322. All Korean records agree with Mr. Hulbert. It seems to us that the autograph note was made on the following day, when the Japanese Minister guarded the king.—Cf. A. Stead, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

36 J. H. Longford, *The Story of Korea*, pp. 320-323; H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea*, Vol. 2, pp. 235-240.

troops from Korea and that neither would again despatch forces to the country without previous notice to the other.[37]

In Dr. Allen's diary, under December 5, 1884, we read: "Last night was a most eventful one to foreigners in Seoul." It was an eventful night in the history of Protestantism as well. One of the reactionary ministers to receive the assassin's knife was Min Yong Ik, nephew of the queen, who had just returned from the United States where he had gone to exchange the ratification of the American-Korean treaty.[38] The prince was lying at the point of death with arteries severed and seven sword-cuts on his head and body,[38] when Dr. Allen was called by P. G. von Mollendorf, a German whom Li Hung Chang had loaned to Korea as a foreign adviser. When the doctor arrived at Mollendorf's residence, there had gathered fourteen Korean doctors, who made objection to Allen's services. However, Allen succeeded in bringing the prince back to health. "It took three months of constant care, attended with much anxiety and peril."[39] The reward was gratifying, for the spectacular exhibition of Western medical skill won the confidence of the court and paved the way for open missionary labor.

The disagreement between the Chinese and Japanese and the general unrest among the people following the *coup* were so great that not only the retreating Japanese but also the representatives of foreign governments and other Westerners found it prudent to withdraw to the seaport Chemulpo, where the guns of the fleet might guarantee protection. But the Allens stayed on in Seoul. Allen is reported to have said: "We cannot go if we would, and we would not if we could."[40] In his diary he says: "First, we had come here for just this busy work and could not leave when so needed; secondly, we were comfortable here with a plenty to eat, while at Chemulpo we would have no accommodations and but little

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37 *Korea Treaties and Agreements*, The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. pp. 7, 8.
38 H. N. Allen, *Things Korean*, p. 70.
39 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
40 *The Foreign Missionary* for March, 1885, p. 429.

to eat, also the baby would probably feel badly there ; and thirdly, we had such short notice that as all the available chairs had been taken, we might not be able to go if we desired." Allen's medical knowledge and spirit of service and the Stars and Stripes[41] under which they lived, were sufficient protection. The disabled prince was cared for and the wounded Chinese and Korean soldiers were attended by the busy doctor.

Allen's position at Seoul was not free from anxiety and peril. He was in a strange country where the government and people were supposed to be very antagonistic to foreigners. In the entire distracted city there remained no foreigner to appreciate him or to give him support. On his hands he had one of the most distinguished men in the country, who was suffering from serious wounds. If he should succeed in restoring the prince to health, he would face the jealousy and antagonism of Korean doctors who had lost their practice. If his medical skill should fail, the outcome might be even more disastrous. Not only Allen's personal success, but the future of the enterprise he represented depended on the outcome. Fortunately, the wounded prince speedily recovered. By January 27, 1885, his condition had already so greatly improved that he was able to express his gratitude to Dr. Allen. Dr. Allen wrote: "Today Min Yong Ik sent me a present of one hundred thousand cash which he insisted on my taking as a token of his personal regard for me, and to be used to fill my belly and make me feel good. It was a gift to his guest and would have nothing to do with the final judgment for my services." Thus Dr. Allen won the confidence of the court. Soon afterward he was appointed to the office of court physican.

The introduction of Dr. Allen to the court by the American Minister as the physician of the Legation, "though a little misleading, made all smooth sailing."[42] The doctor felt, however, that the opportunity should be taken for the inauguration of direct missionary work. He had already attended

41 *The Foreign Missionary* for May, 1885, p. 525.
42 H. N. Allen, *Things Korean*, p. 167.

many wounded soldiers and sick people. His practice was growing and it was quite impossible to attend to the many patients at their homes. He therefore conceived the idea of establishing a hospital in Seoul under royal patronage. On January 22, 1885, Allen requested Lieutenant George C. Foulk, the American Chargé d'Affairs at Seoul, to transmit to the court his proposal for a government hospital.[43] Mr. Foulk forwarded the request with his own letter of recommendation to Minister Cho Piung Ho, the President of the Board of Foreign Affairs. The Allen proposal stated the need for a hospital to meet the increasing number of patients calling upon the foreign physician. He expressed his willingness to take charge of such an institution for the benefit of the people, and to instruct young men in Western medical science, and to serve without pay, as he drew his living from a "benevolent society in America."[44] The necessary provisions for the hospital would be a building in a healthy locality, with an annual appropriation for running expenses and of three thousand dollars for drugs.

It was one thing to make the daring suggestion and another to secure the royal consent. There were two outstanding obstacles. First of all was P. G. von Mollendorf, concerning whom Dr. Allen wrote: [He] "has a wild scheme for starting a medical college and wants to get me under his thumb because I have gained some influence. If he heard of this (Allen's proposal for a government hospital) he may squash the whole thing."[45] According to Dr. Allen, Mollendorf was "more opposed to missions than the Coreans themselves."[46] The other difficulty was the "benevolent society" clause in the proposal. Dr. Allen was rather anxious about it, for he recorded in his diary: "As the matter was not presented through von Mollendorf's hands (for fear of its death from suffocation)...I fear he may so expound the ‚Benevolent' clause as to effectually squelch the whole

43 For the full text of the proposal, see Appendix A.
44 *Ibid.*
45 The Allen Diary on January 22, 1885,
46 Allen's letter to F. F. Ellinwood from Seoul, dated Oct. 8, 1884, the Allen papers in the New York Public Library.

matter."[47] But Foulk and the future diplomat, Allen, played their hand with skill. While Foulk sought to "push (it) right through by Min Yong Ik's influence,"[48] Allen wrote to Mollendorf the following tactful note :[49]

"Dear Mr. von Mollendorf :

I was so impressed by our little talk the other day about medical work and a hospital that I had a long talk with our Mr. Foulk which ended in my writing out a proposal to be presented throught Mr. Min Yong Ik, who seems quite grateful to me. Mr. Foulk made a translation and I hear it was sent to him today. You will or have seen it and I trust much from your good influence as it is but carrying out your ideas.

Yours truly,
H. N. Allen

Seoul,
Jan. 27, 1885."

Mr. Foulk "took a very lively interest in the matter" and continued the negotiations personally,[50] as he desired to see the Korean government take this *independent* step in advance.[51] The Korean government granted permission for the hospital in the early spring of 1885, gave the home of Hong Yong Sik,[52] who was murdered after the fall of the radicals, for a hospital building, and fitted the looted house at an expense of from six hundred to one thousand dollars.[53] The government hospital—called Kwang Hei Won or

47 The Allen Diary.
48 *Ibid.*
49 *Ibid.*
50 The government order in regard to the proposal reads as follows : "Your proposal was transmitted. Having received your letter referring to establishing a hospital in Seoul, I give herewith the reply, even from our Minister of State : 'Say to the Chargé d' Affairs for America that, having directed him to be consulted *personally* by the President of the Foreign Office, a written reply was not heretofore deemed necessary.' As in other countries, the establishment of a hospital here should be our first work ; established and well conducted, it will be of great benefit to my people and their children. For the great thought, we extend our thanks to Dr. Allen. Having now a large empty house, one will be fitted up for a hospital. In deciding as to fittings and arrangements, Dr. Allen will be informed and consulted.... (signed) Kim Yun Sik, President, the Foreign Office." —*The Foreign Missionary*, Vol. 43, No. 12 (May. 1885), p. 527.
51 *Ibid.*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (July, 1885), p. 74.
52 H. N Allen, "Medical Work in Korea," in *ibid.*. Vol. 44, No. 2 (July, 1885), p. 75.
53 *Ibid., loc. cit.*

Widespread Relief House—under the charge of Dr. Allen, was formally opened on April 10, 1885.[54] The connection of the Presbyterian Board with the institution was "distinctly understood to be simply in furnishing the medical superintendence."[55] while the Korean government was to provide building, instruments, and maintenance.[56] Thus was laid the foundatian of resident missionary work in Korea.

The opening of the royal hospital in co-operation with the missionaries had several interesting features. In promoting the proposal Mr. Foulk adhered to the declared American policy of fostering the complete independence of Korea. In granting the request the Korean government made ready recognition of the disinterested friendship of the United States. The missionary policy of Dr. Allen was to win the favor of the government and the confidence of the people; only gradually and cautiously did he reveal his identity and ultimate purpose. He was, at the beginning, known as the physician of the American Legation. He now took charge of the government hospital as a representative of a "benevolent society in America that....supports hospitals in Pekin, Tientsin, Shanghai, Canton and other Chinese cities, two of which are furnished by Li Hung Chang himself."[57] The last long qualifying clause was added to disarm the suspicion of the conservative officials. Though the king soon knew that Allen was a missionary,[58] he did not prevent the undertaking. But "some of the most influential foreign officials regarded it alone in the light of a proselyting institution, and tried to defeat it by such a report as that 'no person would be treated unless promising to believe in Christ.'"[59] Opposition also

54 For the description and diagram of the plant, see *ibid.*, *loc. cit.* Dr. O. R. Avison gives Feb. 25. 1885, as the opening date of the hospital,—*Quarto Centennial Papers*, p. 31. But both Allen's Diary and the first Annual Report of the Korean Government Hospital give April 10, which we believe is right.

55 H. N. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

56 O. R. Avison, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

57 From Dr. Allen's proposal for the hospital. For the full text, see Appendix A.

58 H. N. Allen, "Medical Work in Korea," *The Foreign Missionary*, Vol. 44, No. 2, (July, 1885), p. 76.

59 H. N. Allen "Medical work in Korea," The Foreign Missionary, Vol. 44 No. 2. (July 1885) P. 74.

came from the Korean doctors who had held office in connection with the government dispensary which was now abolished, after the existence of four hundred years.[60] "This, with the untimely arrival of number of missionaries of sister denominations just as the hospital was to be opened, made the prospects look very doubtful indeed."[61] But suspicion and opposition were overcome by leaving the institution, except for the medical superintendence, under the management of officers appointed by the government.[62] To Dr. Allen the honor is due of inaugurating resident Protestant mission work in Korea.

MISSIONARY MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

Let us now direct our attention to missionary developments in America. When in October, 1883, the Inter-Seminary Alliance met at Hartford, Connecticut, there were present two future pioneer missionaries to Korea, Horace G. Underwood,[63] who represented the New Brunswick Theo-

60 *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75.
61 *Ibid.*, p. 74.
62 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
63 The Rev. Horace Grant Underwood, D. D., LL. D., was born in London, England, July 19, 1859. When thirteen years of age he came to the United States with his father. He prepared for college at Hasbrouck Institute in Jersey City, New Jersey, and entered New York University, graduating there in 1881 with the A. B. degree. He then entered the Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church in America, located at New Brunswick, New Jersey, and in 1884 finished his course in that institution. Having decided to go to Korea as a missionary, he applied to his church board, but the lack of funds compelled them to decline his offer. He then applied to the Presbyterian Mission Board. On July 28, 1884, he was appointed as the first clerical missionary of that body to Korea, and, as we have seen, arrived in that country on April 5, 1885. Dr. Underwood at once joined his colleague, Dr. Allen, in teaching medical students at the government hospital which was then under the latter's charge. He diligently engaged in the study of the language, which he eventually mastered. He was a pioneer, for he opened the first school of the Presbyterian Mission in 1886, and the following year organized the first Presbyterian church. He was the first to make the long exploratory journey into northern Korea. During his long years of useful service he was an enthusiastic promoter of interdenominationalism. He served as chairman of the Union Board of Bible Translators, of the Korean Religious Tract Society, of the Korean Educational Federation, and was President of the Chosen Christian College. He was missionary, author, Bible translator, editor, educator, and was above all a preacher. He died on October 12, 1916,

logical Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church in America—the school of G. F. Verbeck, S. R. Brown, and J. H. Ballagh, pioneer missionaries to Japan; and Henry G. Appenzeller, a Methodist from another New Jersey institution, Drew Theological Seminary.[64] Dr. Underwood speaks of the circumstances of his coming to Korea as follows:[65]

"In the winter of '82-'83 the Rev. Dr. Albert Oltmans,[66] now of the Meiji Gakuin of Tokyo, but then a student, gathered the volunteers at New Brunswick together, and read them a paper he had been appointed to prepare on the Hermit Kingdom at last opened by treaty to the Western World. The simple story of these twelve or thireen millions without the Gospel; of the church praying for an open door; the door, opened, through Admiral Shufeldt's treaty in 1882 and the thought of a year and more having passed without a move on the part of the church, so stirred the speaker, that he determined to set to work, and find some one to go. For myself, I believed I had been called to India, and in this conviction had made certain special preparations for that field, and had spent a year in medical study; but I certainly felt there must be others who would be ready to go; yet do what I could, urge as I might, a year passed, and still no one had offered, no church seemed ready to enter, and even the leaders in the foreign mission work of the churches were writing articles urging that it was too early to enter Korea. It was *then* that the message came home to me. 'Why not go yourself?' But India, her needs, the peculiar call I believed I had had to that field, the partial preparations, all loomed up, and seemed to bar the way. Every door seemed closed and at first it appeared impossible to open [any]. Twice I applied to my own church but lack of funds compelled them to decline. Twice I had applied to the Presbyterian Board only to be told it was useless. The door seemed closing on Korea and wide open to stay at home or to follow my first intention to go to India. I had about decided upon this course and had written with much reluctance my acceptance of a call to a New York church; had sealed this letter and was about to drop it in the letter-box when it seemed almost as though I

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at Atlantic City, New Jersey. Dr. Arthur Judson Brown paid a fitting tribute, when he said: "He will live in the history of Christianity as one of the founders and builders of the church in Korea."—A. J. Brown, "The Rev. Horace Grant Underwood, D. D., LL.D.," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 13, No. 2, (February, 1917), p. 34.

64 W. E. Griffis, *A Modern Pioneer in Korea, the Life Story of Henry G. Appenzeller*, p. 86.

65 H. G. Underwood, *Reminiscences, Quarto Centennial Papers, op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

66 The given name is supplied and the surname is corrected from Altmans.

heard a voice saying 'No one for Korea,' 'How about Korea?'. I drew back the letter in my hand, determined to make another effort Koreaward and turned my face once again toward 23 Center Street (the old Presbyterian Board rooms). This time the secretary that I had previously seen was out and I saw a new face, that of Dr. F. F. Ellinwood, who assured me of his interest and in a few days I was notified that at the next meeting of the Board I should be appointed."

The Presbyterian Board changed its policy of "watchful waiting" to that of immediate occupation, and declared: "The one thing that appears certain is that the country cannot return to the exclusive policy of the past."[67] On July 28, 1884, the Mission Board appointed Rev. H. G. Underwood as the first clerical missionary to Korea. The new appointee sailed from San Francisco for Japan on December 16th of the same year: "To commence the study of the language under such teachers as could be found, while holding himself ready to enter Korea as soon as the way should be opened, and, if need be, to engage in English school work until he should be permitted to freely preach the Gospel."[68] Mr. Underwood arrived in Japan the following January. Dr. J. C. Hepburn, the veteran Presbyterian missionary to Japan, took the young missionary into his home. While Mr. Underwood was serving his missionary apprenticeship[69] under the experienced missionary, he held evangelistic services for American sailors and began to study the language with the Korean Christian, Rijutei.[70] There was, however, a prospect of teaching in the medical school which was about to be opened in connection with the Korean Government Hospital, so he soon left the island empire, arriving at Seoul on April 5, 1885, The impressions the young missionary made upon his seniors are interesting. Rev. Henry Loomis of Yokohama, writing to the board under date of January 16, 1885, says: "I am rejoiced to see Rev. Mr. Underwood here, and he seems to be the

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67 *N. P. Report for 1885*, p. 131.
68 *N. P. Report for 1885*, p. 130.
69 The chapter heading for the second chapter, L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea.*
70 L. H. Underwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 38.

right man for the field ; but he should have brought a wife."[71] Dr. Allen, of Korea, says: "Mr. Underwood seems smart and business-like but he is rather conceited and rash. I am afraid he will get us into trouble."[72]

FOUNDING OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL MISSION

When Henry Appenzeller[73] returned from the Hartford Inter-Seminary Convention in the winter of 1883. he determined to go to Korea. He had previously been interested in Japan and hoped to go to that country as a missionary, but when his friend, J. S. Wadsworth, who had been accepted as a missionary to Korea, was compelled to stay in the United States, Mr. Appenzeller wanted "to be Wadsworth's substitute"[74] and offered himself for Korea.[75] He received his

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71 *The Foreign Missionary*, Vol. 44, No. 1, p. 34.

72 The Allen diary entery on April 6, 1885.

73 The Rev. Henry Gerhart Appenzeller was born on February 6, 1858, in Sonderton, Pa. In 1882 he was graduated from Franklin and Marshall College, the leading institution of the German Reformed Church in America. Upon the completion of his college work, Mr. Appenzeller entered Drew Theological Seminary. Before his graduation from the Seminary, he offered himself to the Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Church for mission work in Korea. While he was on his honeymoon, during Christmas week, 1884, he received his appointment. On the eve of his departure for Korea, he was ordained into the ministry by Bishop C. H. Fowler at San Francisco. Arriving in Korea on April 5, 1885, he had to return to Japan temporarily, but in June of that same year he established a permanent residence in the land of his adoption. He served his mission as Assistant Superintendent from its foundation until 1887. In that year he was appointed full Superintendent. In 1886 he founded Pai Chai School and was Principal for many years, a position which his son now ably fills. He was a member of the Board of Bible translators, and pastor of the Union church. Mr. Appenzeller served the church as presiding elder, editor, and explorer, and at last gave his life for the cause of the Bible. On June 12, 1902, while he was on his way from Seoul to the meeting of the Union Board of Bible Translators at Mokpo, he was drowned when the ill-fated steamship *Kumagawa maru* was sunk in a collision. William E. Griffis, his biographer, pays him the following tribute: "Appenzeller of Korea built himself as a living stone into Christian Cho-sen . . .As traveller, explorer, teacher, organizer, evangelist, and Bible translator, his labors were manifold, while his temper was ever sweet. His seventeen years of service were crowned with success."—W. E. Griffis, *A Modern Pioneer in Korea, The Life Story of Henry G. Appenzeller*, p. 7.

74 *W. E Griffis, op. cit.*, p. 84.

75 For the details of "the Great Decision," see ibid., pp. 85-91.

appointment during Christmas week, 1884, as the first clerical missionary to Korea under the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was ordained elder by Bishop C. H. Fowler at San Francisco on February 2, 1885, and the next day sailed on the S. S. *Arabic*.[76]

The Appenzellers did not go alone. In New York, on the night of December 4, 1884, while the revolutionists were at work in the Korean capital, William B. Scranton, M. D. [77] was ordained to the Ministry of the Methodist Church.[78] Dr. Scranton was accompanied by his wife and by his mother, Mrs. Mary F. Scranton, the latter being appointed by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, and joined the Appenzellers on the S. S. *Arabic*. These pioneer missionaries reached Japan in February of the following year. On March 5, the new arrivals met with Robert S. Maclay at his home at Aoyama, Tokyo, "to consider the situation, to arrange for continuing the passage to Korea, to devise business matters, [and] to discuss plans for commencing the mission."[79] On March 31, Dr. Maclay received notification of the formal organization of the Korea Mission from Bishop C. H. Fowler, who appointed Maclay

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76 W. E. Griffiis, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

77 The Rev. William B. Scranton, M. D., was born May 29, 1856, in New Haven, Conn. He was a son of old New England and a graduate of Yale University in the same class with William H. Taft and Harlan P. Beach. He received his professional training at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York City, and was practicing physician at Cleveland, Ohio, when, in 1884, he was appointed as a medical missionary to Korea. He was ordained into the ministry on December 4, 1884. Dr. Scranton arrived in Korea in May, 1885, and began his labors by assisting Dr. Allen in the Korean Government Hospital. He purchased the first property for his mission and prepared the way for succeeding missionaries. He founded the first Methodist hospital in Seoul in 1885. He served his mission as treasurer, superintendent, and member of the Union Board of Bible Translators. Dr. Scranton resigned from the mission in 1907 "in order to engage in the work of medical education under the Korean Government."—Official Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Korea Mission Conference for 1907, p. 16.

78 W. E. Griffis, *op. cit.;* The Journal of the Annual Meeting of the Korea Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1895, pp. 16, 17.

79 R. S. Maclay, "Commencement of the Korea Methodist Episcopal Mission," *The Gospel in All Lands for October, 1896, p. 501.*

Superintendent, Appenzeller Assistant Superintendent, and Scranton Mission Treasurer.[80]

While the Scrantons stayed in Yokohama and began their study of the language,[81] the Appenzellers proceeded to Korea.[82] The little boat, *Tserio Maru,* which anchored at Chemulpo on Easter morning, April 5, 1885. was a missionary ship. It brought Mr. Underwood, the Appenzellers, and Drs. Taylor and Scudder of the American Board, the latter two being intent on prospecting the country.[83] Thus the Presbyterian and Methodist clergymen reached Korea on the same date. Henry Loomis had regretted that Mr. Underwood had brought no wife with him,[84] but the bachelorhood of the new missionary proved to be fortunate, for Mr. Underwood, being single, was permitted to proceed to Seoul while the Appenzellers were requested by the American Chargé d'Affairs to return to Japan because it was felt unsafe for Mrs. Appenzeller to come to the strange city at that time. As Mr. Appenzeller was awaiting at Chemulpo the order of the American legation, he penned a letter to the Board, which closed with the following prayer: "We came here on Easter. May He who on that day burst asunder the bars of death, break the bonds that bind the people, and bring them to the light and liberty of God's children."[85]

The returning of the Appenzellers to Japan from their chosen field of labor is significant, for it reveals, on the one hand, the political opposition in Korea which the pioneer missionaries had to contend, and on the other the attitude

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80 R. S. Maclay, "Commencement of the Korea Methodist Episcopal Mission," *The Gospel in All Lands* for October, 1896, p. 502.

81 Dr Scranton speaks of his Korean teacher as follows: "Pak Young Hyo, aged 26. Prince of the highest rank, married a daughter of the former king, a niece of the present king, was Ambassador to Japan in the new cabinet was made Minister of War and Commander of the Northern and Southern Armies."—*The Gospel in All Lands* for 1885, p. 329.

83 "Dr. Maclay advised," says Mrs. M. F. Scranton, "that the party be divided, thus avoiding the suspicion that might arise if they went in a body."—Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Church Report for 1885, p. 47.

83 The Allen diary entry on April 6, 1885.

84 *Supra,* p. 102.

85 *The Gospel in All Lands* for 1885, p. 328.

toward missionaries of the representatives of the American government at Seoul. It was reported in 1887: "Our representatives continually tell us we must not do any work; that if we go slowly, and do nothing, in ten years we can do work such as we desire. We have had inaction drummed into us with our hands tied until we have little patience left to hear any more of their judgment.....Our representatives here are more afraid we shall do work than the Koreans themselves. But meanwhile we do all we can."[86] In order to understand the policy of the American representatives at Seoul, we must remember that the declared policy of the United States was to foster and strengthen the complete independence of the country. It was, therefore, necessary for the American diplomatic representatives to adhere strictly to the laws of the land. In the meantime, other Western nations were negotiating treaties and were at a deadlock over the question of religious freedom.[87] Minister Foote undoubtedly could have obtained favorable concessions for missionaries because of the confidence he had already won at the court, but as a representative of a friendly power he would not embarrass the Korean government by asking special favors for American missionaries while the question of guarantees of religious toleration was under discussion. As a matter of fact, General Foote was very sympathetic with missionaries, as his correspondence with them discloses. On November 16, 1883, he wrote to Rev. Henry Loomis, agent for the American Bible Society at Yokohama, as follows:

"The time will come shortly when the good people who desire to visit Korea in the interest of the church can do so without injury to the cause they desire to promote. At present it would greatly embarrass this government. New treaties are now being negotiated."[88]

As the political situation became more quiet, and the prospects for opening mission work became more favorable, he kept the missionaries informed of the progress of events. Foote wrote to Mr. Maclay on September 8, 1884:

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86 *M. E. North Report for 1887*, p. 317.
87 *Supra*, p. 69.
88 *The Annual Report of the American Bible Society for 1884*, p. 137.

"I have received renewed assurances from His Majesty that not only will no obstruction be thrown in your way, but that you will be tacitly encouraged in founding a school and hospital at Seoul. I may not be here[89] and see you firmly established, but I shall do all I can to prepare the way for you. Mr. Kim Ok Kuin and one or two others are doing what they can to aid me quietly."[90]

Ten days later the American minister wrote to the anxious missionary again, saying:

"I can see no change in the situation here. Some apprehensions seem to exist that party strife may engender violence. I have always acted on the principle that the government and people must understand that it is necessary to protect foreigners; and have at the same time manifested the utmost confidence in their willingness and power to do so.....If in coming here you carry out your intention, as expressed to me, of making haste slowly, I feel that the door will not be closed."[91]

But the failure of the émeute of December, 1884, drove out the progressive element in the government. The court was in control of the reactionaries. In the meantime, General Foote returned to America and Lieutenant George C. Foulk, who had escorted the first Korean embassy from the United States to Korea, became the Chargé d'Affairs. Foulk adhered to the policy of his predecessor.[92] In reply to the inquiry of Maclay on the situation in Korea, he wrote under date of April 2, 1885:

"I regret to say that the present state of affairs in this country presents many features wholly unfavorable to your work. The effect of the émeute of December last has been to demoralize the government seriously; its laws are neglected, the people disturbed, and robbery and acts of violence among them are more common than I have ever known them to be before. Large numbers of the people deserted the city. The Japanese and Chinese troops in the city do not now menace each other as they did a few weeks ago, yet certainly there is no suitable guarantee that trouble may not at any time break out. This state of affairs must last until the result of the mission of the Japanese ambassador to China has been determined. It is true that some time

89 General Foote returned in January, 1885.—"*Early American Policy in Korea, 1883-7*," T. Dennett, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (March 1923), p. 93.

90 R. S. Maclay, "Commencement of the Korea Methodist Episcopal Mission," *The Gospel in All Lands* for October, 1896, p. 498.

91 *Ibid., loc. coit.*

92 T. Dennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-103.

ago the prospects of good work in all directions in Korea pointed to the springtime, but the late disturbances have dispelled all these. There is not one officer in the government now to whom the subject of your work could be effectively broached. I hope, my dear sir, for a favorable issue to all the present trouble, and when there shall appear to me the least encouragement for your work and evidence of security to life and property of foreigners living here I will notify you at once."[93]

Three days after this letter had been written, the group of missionaries landed at Chemulpo. Mr. Foulk, who had just returned from the country "where he (had) been in grave danger until rescued by order of the king,"[94] was fully conscious of the dangers and, convincing himself that there were no accommodations for a family either at the Legation or at the Allens', he ordered the Appenzellers to return to Japan. Dr. Allen reveals the situation in the following entry in his diary on April 10, 1885:

"Foulk would not entertain the Appenzellers. He (Appenzeller) had a sick wife.....We would like very much to invite them up to stop with us, but as they have asked the aid of Mr. Foulk and his advice as to their coming we must let them follow it.....Dr. Maclay, however, evidently wished to show us that he had influence with the authorities and did not need our assistance. It has raised the question as to the propriety of missionaries coming and it has been decided against them. A very unfortunate thing as it was uncalled for and will hinder them in the future."

While the Appenzellers were obliged to return to Japan, Maclay advised Dr. Scranton to enter the country. Acting upon this advice, Scranton left his wife and mother in Japan and proceeded to Korea, arriving there on May 3, 1885.[95] Thus the first appointed missionary of the Methodist Society entered the field and laid the foundations for the future mission.

In order to appreciate what the pioneer missionaries accomplished in the work of laying foundations, it is necessary to consider the difficulties which stood in their way. We have already pointed out that the Shufeldt treaty of 1884 was silent on the question of religious toleration. When the

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93 R. S. Maclay, *op. cit*, pp. 500,501.
94 H. N. Allen, *Greetings, Quarto Centennial Papers*, p. 11.
95 *The Gospel in All Lands* for 1885, p. 473.

Anglo-Korean treaty was signed, the right of religious practices among the foreigners themselves was granted. The Franco-Korean treaty had a stipulation which very vaguely implied religious freedom and granted the privilege of travelling in the interior within certain limits. The only rights that the American missionaries had were the privileges and treaty rights given to other nations. Under the "most favored nation" clause in the American-Korean treaty, these were available to them. The lower classes, moreover, generally looked with distrust upon Christianity, for they knew only of the Christianity of the Catholics which had been the cause of such violent disturbances and persecutions. The law which had forbidden the acceptance of Christianity on penalty of death was still unrepealed. The fear of what would follow contact with the foreigner led the people carefully to avoid religious conversations with Missionaries. A quotation from an article by Mrs. Scranton will serve to describe the living conditions of the pioneers:

"You who have come more recently can, I think, scarcely realize the difference between the Korea of today and the country to which we came more than ten years ago. Today there are gleams of brightness and promise all along the horizon. Then it was only as we looked upward and beyond the stars that we could see a ray of light or hope. The presence of the foreigner was not desired. We were counseled by our United States representatives to use the utmost caution in manner and speech. We were not expected to make manifest in any way the design we had in coming to the country. Nothing remained, therefore, for us to do but to win hearts, if such a thing lay within the range of possibilities, and acquire the language. Both of these under the circumstances proved difficult. Our presence on the street in too close proximity to the women's apartments was oftentimes the signal for the rapid closing of doors and speedy retreat behind screens, while children ran screaming with as much lung power as they could bring to bear on the occasion. Then, too, how could one expect quickly to acquire the language when there were no books, no teachers worthy of the name, and no interpreters whose knowledge went further than the simplest forms of speech? It was no great feat to get a vocabulary of nouns but when it came to verbs and we were obliged to 'act' them, it sometimes became puzzling, not to say ludicrous. We had no fine houses in those days. My drawing-room and study was eight by twelve. On all sides but one (that leading to my sleeping apartment) there were only paper partitions between me and the outside world. This, during the summer,

was not a serious defect, but when winter came it had its objections. There was no window glass anywhere to let in brightness and sunshine, until one happy day Mr. Foulk, our Chargé d'Affairs, made me a present to three photograph plates. These I thankfully, if not proudly, inserted in the window near my desk, and once more rejoiced in being able to see, at least with one eye at a time, the light of heaven again. I suppose missionaries ought to be so far above the earth as never to think of the 'what shall we eat' ; but in this respect I am quite confident the first representatives to Korea, during their first summer, signally failed. The meal in the barrel if it did not 'waste,' turned sour, which was nearly as bad, and Japan and China were far away. Beef was forbidden, on acccount of disease among the cattle. Of potatoes and other vegetables, there were none. But there were chickens and eggs. While we were forced to acknowledge that in outward appearance these resembled those we call by that name in the home land, the taste we thought as different as the two countries themselves. But we ate them, 'not one day, nor two days, nor five days, neither ten days. But even a whole month,' two months, 'until they came out at our nostrils.' "[96]

FOUNDING OF THE GOVERNMENT HOSPITAL

The first Protestant missionary was a doctor. It is natural, therefore, that the first missionary labor should be medical. The medical work of the period was fourfold—the superintendency of the Government Hospital, medical education, practice among Koreans, including the king and his court, and work among foreign residents.

The Government Hospital was opened under the efficient leadership of Dr. Allen. The dispensary attendance at once became great,[97] and without trained help Dr. Allen was unable to meet the demands suddenly thrust upon him. Dr. Allen was eagerly anticipating relief in the person of Dr. Heron, who was to be his colleague. Dr. Scranton arrived in Korea in May, 1885. Allen met him at Chemulpo, where he called on him "professionally" and invited him to his home . The senior missionary at once petitioned the government for a permit to secure the assistance of Dr. Scranton in the hos-

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96 M. F. Scranton, "Woman's Work in Korea," *The Korean Repository*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (January, 1896), pp. 2, 3.

97 The average daily treatment at the hospital was reported "about seventy."—*N. P. Report for 1886*, p. 148.

pital. This was granted on May 29. Dr. Scranton begun work at the hospital as early as May 22 and carried it on, though with some reluctance,[98] until June 24, when Dr. Heron came to assist Dr. Allen.

In 1886, the Presbyterian Board sent out Miss Annie J. Ellers "to take charge of very important work among women, including both the higher and lower classes."[99] Miss Ellers was welcomed, not merely by the missionary circles, but by the queen and the ladies of her court. She was soon received into the confidence and friendship of Her Majesty. The female department was opened in the Government Hospital and Miss Ellers was placed in charge.[100] In 1887 Dr.

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98 The relationship between Allen and Scranton appears not to have been very cordial. Dr. Allen, recording his first impression of Dr. Scranton, wrote; "He is a sensible man and behaves well."—The Allen Diary, May 12, 1885. However, discord between the two missionaries soon developed. On May 29, the following entry was made: "Dr. Scranton had in the meantime, without regard to his former decision, and this petition sent in at his request, decided to stop at Chemulpo. Mr. Foulk, however, took up the matter and declared it to be a matter of faith and that American interest couldn't put up with it. He therefore commanded him to come, and he came but does not seem to have much interest in the work." This unfortunate discord between the two men was intensified by the "untimely" arrival of the Methodist missionaries. "We are worried," says Allen, "about the Scrantons, the Mrs. Scranton, the elder and the younger, came by the same steamer [with the Herons]. Mr. Foulk is disgusted by their bringing the Appenzellers, who were sent away. He says he will stand by me till the skies fall but he will have no more to do with missionaries."—Entry on June 21, 1885. The disagreements were widened on account of somewhat unequal favors of the king to these missionaries. "Dr. Scranton is acting very badly about his horse and other things. Dr. Scranton and wife talked so much about 'our horse' the one the king sent for Dr. Heron"—Entry on June 19. The final break soon came on June 28, when the appointment of Dr. Scranton to the hospital post ended on account of the arrival of Dr. Heron. "He [Dr. Scranton] acted so cross and neglected the hospital so much I did not see it to ask to have him reappointed, especially as he had said that his Board would not sanction his working in such an institution because it was not purely religious." etc.....Entry on June 28. It is regrettable that the present writer has no access to the journal of Dr. Scranton, which would have balanced the Allen diary. But a discriminating reader can at once see the dominating, controlling, and directing attitude that Allen took in his relationship with his fellow missionaries. Judging from Dr. Allen's relations with other missionaries, as one can readily see, his own shortcomings were not few.

99 *N. P. Report for 1887*, p. 155.

100 *Ibid.* for 1887, p. 157.

Allen resigned[101] in order to accompany the Korean Minister to the United States, as secretary of the Korean legation at Washington. The hospital building was removed from the foreign office compound to a better and more commodious site at Dong Hyen, or Kurigai.[102] Dr. Heron succeeded Dr. Allen as superintendent. In 1888, Miss Lillias S. Horton, M. D.,

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101 Mrs. Underwood has already revealed some of the disagreements and "parties" among the early missionaries.—*Underwood of Korea*, pp. 42-44. The "parties" seem to refer to Allen and Heron. Dr. Allen's first impression of the Herons was good, as it is recorded: "They are southern people, very polite and very pleasant. They seem to appreciate all that has been done for them and the work."—Allen's diary entry on June 21, 1885. But discord soon began between the two doctors. The first indication of the long dispute was recorded on September 1, 1885. Dr. Allen wrote: "We have had a most surprising and provoking disagreement with Dr. Heron. It arose from my talking over in a friendly way his remaining home from the hospital when not needed and working on the language study as the board has urged. I also objected to his servant emptying our ice water bottles before meals and not refilling them [The whole dispute was] most stubborn action on his part which resulted in my *announcement of my intention of resigning* from the mission. Mrs. Heron has taken it up and denounced me as unfit for a missionary and that I simply use this as a pretext to resign and I did for money." The ice water bottle was not the only cause of disagreement. The Korean king did favors to all missionaries but produced different effects. On September 5, 1885, the king and queen gave a banquet, to which missionaries connected with the Hospital were invited. The royalties appeared, but did not stay long enough to give audience to late comers. Dr. Allen wrote: "I secured permission to invite Dr. and Mrs. Heron to this banquet. They came very late and were quite offended at not being able to see the King. Heron acts very un-Christian-like and is the most jealous person I ever knew. We will have to part." These personal disagreements grew on account of reports that Mrs. Heron wrote home. On October 10, we find the following entry in Dr. Allen's diary: "I am boycotted now by the missionaries due to the work of the Herons. That Mrs. Heron will tell falsehoods about us is evident from the fact that in her letters which are published she does so, as, for example, in a late periodical she says she has played the organ for Mr. Underwood's orphans' Sunday School. She never did it; on the contrary Mrs. Allen went regularly every Sunday morning and did the work. Mr. Foulk says that they are going to kill the hospital for mission work here, but that I must stay in charge of the hospital.....Heron has every other week wholly to himself and all but two or three hours daily of other weeks. Yet he does not study. Underwood has as much leisure. So have the Methodists. I think it a pretty soft thing" In addition to these disputes among missionaries, there were certain remunerative positions offered to Allen. For example, on September 1, 1885, Mollendorf asked him to work for the customs at the salary of $7,200 a year. We offer these evidences as causes for the Allen resignation.

102 *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 4, No. 7 (July, 1908), p. 99.

assumed the responsibility of the women's department in the Government Hospital and became the trusted physician of the queen. Miss Ellers was married to Professor D. A. Bunker in 1887 and Dr. Horton to Rev. H. G. Underwood two years later. Dr. Allen was reappointed in 1889[103] by his Board to work in Korea and returned to the country in that year "with a view to opening a missionary station at the port of Fusan, if upon visiting the place such a step should be found feasible."[104] But "it was found impossible to purchase or even rent suitable property, whereupon, with the consent of the Board, Dr. Allen removed to Chemulpo."[105] He thereupon came to Seoul to take charge of the hospital.[106] Allen, however, severed his connection with the mission again in August, 1890, and accepted the secretaryship of the American legation at Seoul. Dr. Heron, who was then in charge of the Government Hospital, died of dysentery in the same year.

This is, however, anticipating our story. In connection with the hospital a medical class was opened on April 10, 1896, "with the object of giving some Koreans a medical

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103 *N. P. Report for 1890*, p. 132.
104 *Ibid, loc. cit.*
105 *N. P. Report for 1890*, p. 135.
106 The formal resignation was dated on August 13, 1890. It reads: "I hereby resign my connection with the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. Pay ceases August first. 1890. H. N. Allen, M D." But in his personal letter to F. F. Ellinwood, Allen gives his private reason for the action. The letter reads in part as follows: "I have made up my mind that I cannot work with the Presbyterian mission of Seoul, and I send my resignation. As you see by my other letter I have been insulted by these new people and the spirit they show is the old Heron spirit right through and through with Mrs. Heron to guide them. It will continue and I do not propose to fritter my time away in any such [manner] too foolishly. I may regret it, but such a spirit is not missionary and I do not care to be connected with any such people. Therefore, I resign.....It is the opinion of the Bunkers as well as myself that the disgraceful tangle in the Presbyterian mission here will go on as long as Mrs. Heron is here." The insult which Dr. Allen mentious in this letter is the refusal to give him the new school building for his lodging. The Allens had just returned from America, consequently they had no suitable home to live in. A new school building had just been built, and it being the vacation period, the building was unoccupied. However, the missionaries refused to let the Allens lodge in it until they could settle.

education."[107] The teaching staff consisted of Drs. Allen and Heron and Rev. H.G. Underwood.[108] The doctors gave practical instructions, while the latter taught chemistry and physics. This was the embryo of what afterwards developed into a real college. When Dr. Scranton of the Methodist mission opened a hospital, he gave his helpers practical instruction and reported it was "a school for medical students."[109] Both these early efforts of medical education were for the time being no further advanced than the instruction of the helpers and drug clerks necessary for the hospitals.

We have already mentioned the fact that Dr. Allen was made court physician. The appointment was not a mere royal mendate, but was a ceremonious procedure. In his diary of July 17, 1885, Dr. Allen records the situation as follows: "At present as we hold no rank and have not been presented to our sovergin we cannot be presented to the Korean King." Consequently, the rank of Champan, or Mandarin, was offered to Allen on July 19, and after due consideration he accepted it on October 25 of the same year. The office of court physician was a trial which Dr. Allen describes as follows:

"The position of court physician in those days was no sinecure. There was always the alarming possibility that some serious complaint might overtake one of the royal family, in which case a fatal termination would be facilitated by the total lack of proper nursing, the envy of the native medical force and the inability of the foreign physician to enforce his commands....The foreign doctor was as much of a novelty to the court as would be a new toy to children. When no actual complaint was at hand to serve as an excuse for summoning the queer new officer of the court, one would easily be imagined, the feeble young prince being a fertile source of these excuses....Usually these calls would reach me at midnight or later and as the messenger would be ac-

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107 G. W. Gilmore, *Korea from Its Capital*, p. 297.

108 L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, p. 44; W. B. Scranton," *A Short* Sketch of the Development and Progress of Western Medicine, *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol, 4, No. 7 (July, 1908, p. 99.

109 "Dr. Scranton has opened a school for medical students this fall. The attendance necessarily is small. They are men who work for him in his dispensary, and are taught the theory and practice together."—*M. E. North Report for 1888*, p. 339.

companied by an escort and a sedan chair, the uproar would effectually arouse my whole household. Further, I would be obliged to robe myself in full dress, since that was taken as our substitute for the court uniform without which native officials could not go before their ruler."[110]

Medical practice among the foreign residents, as a rule, was not encouraged by the mission board. But the Presbyterian board felt it was necessary to establish "a bond of sympathy and support between the mission [in] its tentative and rather critical period, and that foreign element which, when not conciliated to a proper degree, is apt to be hostile to the mission work."[111] Consequently the board gave its sanction with the distinct understanding that all proceeds from the practice should be placed in the mission treasury.[112] This service by missionary doctors was no mean task, as is evidenced by the income which in 1890 amounted to $2,570.87.[113]

FOUNDING OF THE METHODIST MISSION HOSPITAL

As was the case in the Presbyterian mission, it was a physician who first established the Methodists in Korea. Dr. Scranton was relieved from work in the Government Hospital by the arrival of Dr. Heron in June, 1885, and went out at once to plant the Methodist mission. "After a short delay he succeeded in purchasing a native house, situated upon high land, with other land adjoining that could be purchased, in the immediate neighborhood of the American legation."[114] The regular medical work began September 10, 1885, in the doctor's own home, while a Korean house was being remodelled for a hospital. This latter was opened on June 15 of the following year.[115] The medical policy of the Methodists was extension, while the Presbyterians adopted the programn of concentration on hospital work[116] and training of Korean

110 H. N. Allen, *Things Korean*, pp. 193-195.
111 *N. P. Report for 1887*, p. 155.
112 *Ibid.* for 1891, pp. 135, 136.
113 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
114 *M. E. North Report for 1885*, p. 273
115 For the description of the Hospital, see *ibid.* for 1886, p. 370.
116 "They [Presbyterian or the Government Hospital] do nothing outside the hospital."—*Ibid.* for 1886, p. 276.

doctors. The Methodist medical work was started "among the poorest class"[117] and carried on for the neediest.[118] In 1886, Dr. Scranton appealed to the Board to send men and means to open a hospital for those with contagious diseases.[119] These unfortunates were often driven away from their homes and were forced to live in tents or were even without shelter, and were deserted or were dependent on charity.[120] The Board appropriated the money to meet Dr. Scranton's request,[121] but the original plan for a Good Samaritan hospital[122] was not realized. In December of the following year a dispensary was opened at Aogai,[123] outside of the West Gate. It was closed in 1890, "because of insufficient attendance to warrant the expenditure of time needed to go and come."[124] Finding it necessary to have a hospital exclusively for the treatment of women and children, Dr. Scranton asked the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of his church to send a woman doctor. This they did in the person of Miss Meta Howard, M. D., who arrived in Korea in October, 1887,[125] and a Woman's Hospital was established. However, Dr. Howard was compelled to return to America in 1889 on account of failing health, and Miss Rosetta Sherwood, M D., succeeded to her work in the following year. In 1890 the Methodists added Mr. William McGill, M. D. to their medical force.[126] In the same year the increase staff branched off into another hospital at Sangdong at the South Gate. Dr. Scranton left his hospital at Chungdong in the hands of Dr. I. Wiles of the of the Church of England and returned to America on furlough in 1890.[127] The hospitals and dispensaries were soon in such good repute in Seoul and its vicinity that during the third year of his work Dr. Scranton

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117 *M. E. Report North for 1886*, pp. 263, 377.
118 *Ibid. for 1891*, p. 273.
119 *Ibid. for 1886*, p. 274.
120 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
121 *Ibid.* for 1888, p. 342.
122 *Ibid.* for 1887, p. 417; for 1888, p. 342.
123 *Ibid.* for 1889, p. 292.
124 *Ibid.* for 1891, p. 273.
125 *Ibid.* for 1888, p. 340.
126 *Ibid.* for 1891, p. 275.

received five thousand five hundred visits.[128] In the meantime Dr. Scranton was proposing four other projects: (1) medico-evangelistic trips by a medical missionary to the country in the interior;[129] (2) a dispensary at the East Gate;[130] (3) a general hospital with a modern building and equipment at the center of the city of Seoul;[131] (4) the opening of medical work at Chemulpo.[132] There were several reasons why Dr. Scranton recommended this program: the dire need of the people for medical treatment and sanitary care was a great challenge; there was competition with the Presbyterian hospital[133] and with the educational program of its own denomination;[134] there also entered the personal element, for Dr. Scranton desired to do evangelislic work.[135]

The response to the labors of the foreign doctors was both sympathetic understanding and sceptical speculation. Dr. Scranton reports: "Some know we do our work for Christ's sake, and rejoice in it with us. Some suppose we do it for some reason connected with our religious belief. And the remainder wonder why we do them these kindly acts."[136] Those men who did come to the foreign hospitals entertained

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127 *M. E. North Report* for 1891, p. 275.
128 *Ibid.* for 1889, p. 293.
129 *Ibid.* for 1887, p. 315.
130 *Ibid.* for 1889, p. 293.
131 *Ibid.* for 1889, p. 293.
132 *Ibid.* for 1887, p. 316; for 1888, p. 343.
133 "The Government Hospital does nothing for them [the sick of contagious disease], because they do nothing outside the hospital."—Dr. Scranton's report, *M. E. North Report* for 1886, p. 276. "Although beginning our work in a quiet way, we have already nearly reached the average daily attendance of the Royal Korean Hospital, which latter was well advertized in every province at the time it was started in the hands of our Presbyterian brethren."—*Ibid.* for 1888, p. 341.
134 "Schools as they now stand could not have done so, had medicine not prepared the way.....Please do for the hospital what you have for the school work."—Scranton's report, *Ibid.* for 1888, pp. 340,342.
135 "I, therefore, desire to make trips into the country for distance at least twice a year."—*Ibid* for 1887, p. 315. "It is desirable, too, that one doctor make trips into the country of an evangelico-medical nature.....I am anxious, too, to undertake the work as something distinctive of our Society in the medical line here. We shall then be pioneers in country medical work in Korea."—*Ibid.* for 1888, p. 342.
136 *M. E. North Report* for 1888, p. 341.

various opinions of the foreigner's ability. Some believed that the foreign doctor was not as good as the Korean, but wanted to give him a trial; these often disregarded the physician's instructions. Some came with unbounded faith and confidence in the Western medicine; they believed that the foreign doctor could raise the dead. Dr. Scranton wrote: "I told them that I could do nothing, that he was dead. But that only made them ask, 'Is he entirely dead? Can't you give some medicine to make him live?' "[137] Not many of the people were yet willing to submit to operations.[138] There were even those who came to the men of kind deeds to beg money to sacrifice to spirits that disease might depart from them.[139] The recognition that the government had given to Western medical science, and the desire for relief from physical pain removed at last all inhibitions against foreigners. As the people began to realize the ineffectiveness of the Korean doctors' concoctions and magical practices as compared with Western medicine, they turned to foreign doctors. Thus these physicians opened the way for the preachers, broke down prejudices and suspicion, and won the confidence of the people.

BEGINNING OF MODERN EDUCATION IN KOREA

The favorable effects of medical work were enhanced by the educational labors of the missionaries. People were eager for Western education. In fact, the Korean government had already taken the first timid steps toward the inauguration of a modern educational program. We have already noted the beginning of the Korean student migration to Japan in the eighties. As early as 1881, the government was sending commissions and students to Japan and China to acquaint themselves with the affairs of the world.[140] Actual instruction under Westerners did not begin until 1883, when T. E. Halifax began to teach in the school of interpreters.[141] In

137 *Ibid.* for 1886, p. 274.
138 *Ibid.* for 1886, pp. 273,274.
139 *Ibid.* for 1886, p. 276.
140 H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea*, Vol. 2, p. 223.
141 G. W. Gilmore, *Korea from Its Capital*, p. 238.

the spring of 1885, the king of Korea through the American Minister at Seoul requested General John Eaton, the Commissioner of Education of the United States, to nominate three competent young men "to undertake the management and teaching"[142] of the government school. Commissioner Eaton's choice fell upon three students of "sound views and excellent spirit"[143] in Union Theological Seminary, New York City, two of whom were about to graduate—George W. Gilmore, Princeton 1883, D. A. Bunker, Oberlin 1883, and H. B. Hulbert, Dartmouth 1884. The government school was organized in September, 1886. The school did effective work and turned out men useful in government service. However, it did not prosper as it deserved, for the peculating officials connected with it diverted its funds to their private uses. The situation was so disheartening that first Gilmore, then Hulbert, and finally Bunker resigned and returned to America. The last two mentioned, however, later returned to Korea as members of the Methodist mission.

FOUNDING OF THE EWHA GIRLS' SCHOOL

The honor of beginning woman's work and of founding the first girls' school in Korea is due to Mrs. Mary F. Scranton. Soon after her arrival in Korea in June, 1885, she made efforts to purchase a property for her society on the hill where the parent Board held property.[144] "The first purchase was made in October, 1885. It consisted of nineteen straw huts and an unsightly strip of unoccupied land."[145] While these huts were being repaired, Mrs. Scranton started to build a new "Girls' School and Home."[146] This was completed in 1886, with the aid of Mrs. M. E. Blackstone of Oak Park, Illinois, and was occupied in November of the same year. Mrs. Scranton has left the following valuable record of the beginning of this first girls' school in Korea :

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142 *Ibid.*, p. 228.
143 *N. P. Report* for 1886, p. 148.
144 *M. E. North Report* for 1885, p. 238.
145 M. F. Scranton, "Woman's Work in Korea," *The Korean Repository* Vol. 3, No. 1, (January, 1896,) p. 4.
146 *M. E. North Report* for 1888, p. 339.

"School work was commenced in the house of Dr. Scranton six months previous to the removal to the new Home. It began with one scholar. She was the concubine of an official who was desirous his wife should learn English, with the hope that she might sometime become interpreter for the Queen. She remained with us only about three months. The first permanent pupil came in June, 1886, one month later than Mrs. Kim. Poverty unquestionably brought the girl to us, but not many days had passed before the mother felt it better to brave poverty rather than trust her child to a foreigner. The neighbors accused her of being a bad woman and an unnatural mother, or she would never have trusted her to the No Pou In.[147] They said it might be well for a little time ; there would be plenty of food and of good clothes, but by and by she would be carried away to America, and what her fate would be there no one could tell. An assurance was given in writing that the child should never be carried out of the country, which partially satisfied the mother for a while, though it was several months before she was really at ease. The second pupil was a little waif whose sick mother was picked up out of the city wall by Dr. Scranton and taken first to his hospital for treatment. Koreans watched these girls very closely. As they did not find them unhappy or ill-treated, other mothers gradually gained a little confidence, and at the time of removal to the Home on the hill, the school numbered four, and the following January we counted seven."[148]

The school gradually grew, until in 1888 there was reported an enrollment of eighteen girls.[149] The purpose of the institution as stated by Mr. Gilmore was "to develop them in such ways as to make them model housewives under the conditions in which they must pass their lives and to make them missionaries of the Cross among their relatives and associates."[150] The same purpose was also stated by Mrs Scranton :

"They, the girls, are not being made over again after our foreign way of living, dress, and surroundings, because it occasionally appears from home and even in the field that we thought to make a change in all ways. We take pleasure in making Koreans better Koreans only. We want Korea to be proud of Korean things, and more, that it is a perfect Korea through Christ and his teachings."[151]

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147 Korean name for Mrs. Scranton.
148 "Woman's Work in Korea." *The Korean Repository*, Vol. 3. No. 1. (January, 1896) pp. 3, 4.
149 *M. E. North Report* for 1888, p. 339.
150 G. W. Gilmore, *op. cit.*, p. 300.
151 *The Gospel in All Lands* for 1888, p. 373.

"The Queen sent it a name, Ewha Hak Tang—the Pear-blossom Institute. The pear blossom is to Korea what..... the *fleur de lis* to France and the red rose to the house of Lancaster."[152] Thus began the present Ewha Woman's College.

FOUNDING OF THE PAI CHAI BOYS' SCHOOL

Mr. Underwood began his missionary career as the teacher of chemistry and physics in the government medical school. But when Mr. Appenzeller arrived, he had to make a new beginning. He therefore directed his attention to what seemed to be the most fertile field, the work of teaching the Korean youtht he English language. Lieut. Foulk informed the king of Mr. Appenzeller and told him of the latter's desire to establish a school to teach English. In the fall of 1885 he reported on his success as follows :

"1. I have informed the king that you came here to teach. 2. That I could not ask the government to give you a school or provide pupils, because my so asking would operate against the teachers long since asked for from America. 3. That you were willing to teach on your own account, but had not felt at liberty to get pupils as best you might and teach them, as you did not know what the government or the people might think of it. 4. That you had taught schools in America and knew well how to teach. The king said it was very kind of you to take such interest in Koreans, and that it would be a very good thing were you to teach Koreans—that there could be no objection. I have told you neither more nor less than what I have said to the king and what he replied. It means that if you can get pupils and start a school, you are at liberty to do so."[153]

Mr. Appenzeller did not have much difficulty in gathering a handful of pupils. As he reported :

"The enthusiasm for the study of English has always been great among the Koreans. A little knowledge of the new tongue was and still is a stepping stone to something higher. Ask a Korean 'why do you wish to study English ?' and his almost invariable answer will be 'to get rank.' As a sort of skirmish battle our mission school was opened June 8th, 1886 and continued in session until July 2, during which time six were enrolled. Soon one had the proverbial 'business in the country,' another one found June a bad month for hard work on a new

152 *M. E. North Report* for 1887, p. 313
153 *M. E. North Report* for 1885, p. 239.

language, and left. While a third one had a death in his family and could not attend. The lack in actual attendance was made up in part by those who said they would come. We have now, October 6, twenty on the roll, with an actual attendance of eighteen."[154]

By 1887 the school had made such marked progress that it received government recognition and endorsement. His Majesty gave the school the name of Pai Chai Hak Tang, "Hall for Rearing Useful Men." The government recognized the work of the school by appointing the advanced students to official posts. In 1887 there were sixty-seven students in attendance. A college hall in Renaissance style was built in the same year and dedicated by Bishop H. W. Warren as "the gift of the American people to Korea."[155] The hall contained a chapel, four lecture rooms, a library, the principal's office, and a basement to be used for the industrial department. The school adopted the policy of self-support, aiming "to make the pupil feel that no aid will be given him unless he makes a return for it."[156] In 1888 the self-help department was introduced by giving the care of the campus and the janitor work to needy students. In 1889 there were eighty-two students, of whom four were ready to enter the collegiate department.[157] The self-support policy was strictly carried out: "everybody paid tuition and nobody was given money unless he earned it."[158] By 1890 many of the students were attending religious services.[159] Thus began the present Pai Chai Higher Common School.

OPENING OF THE PRESBYTERIAN MISSION ORPHANAGE

These were years of beginnings. Mr. Underwood opened a boarding school for boys. He was aware of the fact that it would be impossible to enroll self-supporting students and so named the institution an orphanage. Mr. Gilmore, to

154 *Ibid.* for 1886, p. 267.
155 *Ibid.* for 1887, p. 313.
156 *M. E. North Report* for 1886, p. 267.
157 *Ibid.* fer 1889, p. 291.
158 *Ibid.* for 1890, p. 272.
159 *Ibid., loc. cit.*

whom we have already referred, gives the following account of the institution:

"The needs of some boys with whom he [Mr. Underwood] had come into contact suggested to him the establishing of an orphanage, and he mentioned this to some Koreans of high rank, through whom knowledge of the project came to the king, and the latter gave it his sanction. The suggestion was approved of by the Board of Missions at home, and the orphanage became a fact."[160]

We do not doubt that the founder entertained hopes for a "Christian College"[161] and a "Theological Seminary,"[162] but the institution was, at the start, an orphanange: school work was added later. The official report of the Presbyterian Mission stated this fact clearly: "an orphanage has been established with the sanction of the Board, to which a day school will be attached."[163] The boys were entirely supported by the mission. In 1890 the mission adopted a new policy: the boarding school was placed under the charge of Mr. S. A. Moffett and the following announcement was made:

"Boys will be admitted with the understanding that a part of the expense is to be borne by the pupils or their parents; instead of having retained them the entire year, they will be sent home during the vacation."[164]

Mrs. Underwood gives us a clear picture of the institution as it existed on September 1, 1890. She wrote:

"There are about twenty-five boys in the orphanage, and they do a great deal of the work necessary for running the school, taking care of their rooms and preparing most of their food. They rise at 3:30 A. M.,

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160 C. W. Gilmore, *Korea From Its Capital*, p. 295.

161 "Letters of Dr. Underwood written at this time and in the writer's possession give ample testimony that there was even at this early date broad vision as to the future educational work. Mention is even made in some of the hopes for a 'Christian College' for the country."—H. H. Underwood, *Modern Education in Korea*, p. 21. The present writer has discovered one of the letters that H. H. Underwood refers to. Dr. Underwood wrote to A. T. Pierson from Seoul under date of November 27, 1887. We quote the part concerning the "Christian College." "Under the care of the Presbyterian mission here there is the government hospital, with male and female departments, the government medical school, the orphanage, and now there is need for a new school that shall be the beginning of the Christian College."—*The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S. Vol. 1, No. 3 (March, 1888), p. 210.

162 L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, p. 45.

163 N. P. *Report* for 1886, p. 148.

164 *Ibid.* for 1891, p. 136.

and after putting themselves and their room in good order for the day, study Chinese until eight, when they have morning prayers with one of the foreign teachers,[165] after which they have breakfast.... After breakfast follow a few English lessons (we have decided to teach very little English, as the best experience of the oldest missionaries in the field is against it), and a Bible lesson. These recitations are interspersed with short recesses and the afternoons are given to play and study hours, and Chinese, which is the most important factor in the education of Koreans. The Board have been obliged to cut down so largely in the appropriations for this school that the possibility of carrying it on at all has become a very serious question."[166]

BEGINNING OF THE PRESBYTERIAN MISSION GIRLS' SCHOOL

The Presbyterian mission also began educational work for girls. As we have already seen, Miss Annie J. Ellers went to Korea in 1886 as a nurse in the government hospital. She was soon married to D. A. Bunker. "Not-withstanding that she severed her connection with the mission, [she] commenced the work of forming a girls' school in connection with the orphanage."[167] She was, however, compelled by ill-health to give up the undertaking. Miss Mary E. Hayden arrived in 1889 and took charge of the little girl whom Mrs. Bunker had been teaching as the first pupil in the girls' school.[168] Miss Hayden, too, was soon married, becoming Mrs. D. L. Gifford. In 1890 Miss S. A. Doty came to Korea "to engage in school work."[169] Again we owe to Mrs. Underwood information as to the exact condition of the school. On September, 1, 1890, she wrote:

"The girls' school, now under Miss Doty's charge, consists of nine little girls, most of whom are about eight years old. They do as much as possible of their own work, learn to cook and to sew in Korean fashion, are taught no English, but to read Chinese, and their own native 'Erumun' language, and above all, are taught the Gospel and Gospel living. It is a great mistake to unfit these girls by a foreign edu-

165 Rev. J. S. Gale of the Toronto University Y. M. C. A. mission gave assistance in instruction in that year.
166 Mrs. Underwood's letter to A. T. Pierson, *The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S., Vol. 3, No. 12 (December, 1890), p. 943.
167 G. W. Gilmore, *op. cit.*, p. 299.
168 L. H. Underwood, "Woman's Work in Korea," *The Korea Repository*, Vol. 2, No. 2. (February, 1396), p. 63.
169 *N. P. Report* for 1890, p. 132.

cation for the homes they are to fill, and we only seek to make Christian Koreans of them, not American ladies."[170]

The girls were entirely supported at a cost of twenty-nine dollars a year for each student.[171] Under a new policy of the Presbyterian mission, the teacher was instructed to admit those who were about ten years of age, and to keep them, if possible, for five years.[172]

Korea is the country where the educated have ruled the unlearned. It would seem, therefore, that the educational work of the early missionaries would have been a great attraction. But such was not the case; on the contrary, the pioneer missionaries had to face many educational problems. Every Korean scholar who is worthy of the name must master Chinese literature and history, just as the Western scholars in by-gone days have needed knowledge of Greek and Latin. The Koreans respected Chinese education—that of its great neighbor—in spite of the difficulty and time involved in attaining it, and despised the Korean alphabet, which any one can master within a few hours. They contemptuously called the latter the vulgar script. It was comparable to the Latin into which St. Jerome translated the Bible, and the Greek which Paul used in writing letters to the churches. When the missionaries arrived in Korea, they discovered the script. They learned it, translated by means of it portions of the Bible, published through it Christian literature, and taught their pupils through it as a medium. The Koreans viewed the missionary efforts in education with contempt, for teaching in the vulgar script was to them no education at all. The missionaries knew the situation and taught Chinese in their schools, but there were problems of text-books and teachers. The missionaries carefully avoided using "heathen" literature in Christian schools and took from the school curricula the Korean and Chinese classics which ordinary Korean boys

170 L. H. Underwood's letter to A. T. Pierson, *op. cit.*, p. 943.
171 *N. P. Report* for 1891, p. 136.
172 "It is the purpose of the teacher hereafter to admit those who are about ten years of age, keep them, if possible, for five years, after which it is hoped they will be trained and also grounded in the Christian faith."—*Ibid.* for 1891, p. 136.

learn, replacing them with Chinese Christian tracts and apologetical books prepared by missionaries in China for propaganda purposes. The teaching of natural science would have helped in rooting out prejudice, but such instruction required comparatively long foundation work in the English language. Instruction in the English language attracted numbers of young men ambitious for office, naturally of the upper classes, but the missionaries soon began to feel that they wished to train Christian leaders in their schools and gradually decreased the English. Thus the early missionaries failed to attract students from the upper classes who would have made possible a higher standard of education. There was also to be overcome the prejudice of the lower classes who did not understand the high motives of the missionaries. Mr. Underwood, speaking of the Presbyterian orphanage, wrote: "the people around [here] cannot understand at all how anything can be done without a selfish motive, and have already circulated many stories about what we are going to do with the boys, such as 'sending them to America as slaves,' 'fattening them up for the table,' etc." [173] The initiation of education for girls had additional difficulties. Except among the higher classes, education of women was almost unknown. The first necessary step was to create a desire to learn. Mrs. Scranton saw her mission clearly when she said: "It seems I must get the mothers before I can reach the daughters."[174] Thus it was necessary to visit homes constantly to persuade the parents to send their girls to school. When the letter did come, they needed to be given incentives to learn. In 1889 Mrs. Scranton wrote: "At first, the people appeared as if they were conferring a favor when they brought their children, now they acknowledge a benefit when we receive them."[175]

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173 Dr. Underwood's letter from Seoul dated July 29, 1886, *The Foreign Missionavy*, Vol 45, No. 5 (October, 1886), p. 224.

174 Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1885, p. 47.

175 *Ibid.* for for 1889, p. 66.

EVANGELISTIC WORK

Hospitals and schools are termed indirect missionary work, as distinguished from direct proselyting efforts through open preaching and religious observances. The humanitarian work was undertaken to prepare the way for direct preaching. When the early missionaries reached Korea, the old anti-foreign laws were still in force. The only religious liberty that these foreigners possessed was the right granted by treaty to hold their own religious services, and to erect chapels. We have already observed the religious practices in the home of Dr. and Mrs. Allen. The earliest gathering of a religious nature recorded is the Sunday service of June 28, 1885. Dr. Allen entered this event in his diary: "Held our first stated Sunday service this eve after dinner 8 P. M. Dr. and Mrs. Heron, elder Mrs. Scranton and myself and wife present." The first baptism in Korea was administered on April 25, 1886. We again refer to Dr. Allen's diary for this record: "Today the first Protestant baptism took place in Korea. The infant daughters of Dr. Scranton and Rev. Appenzeller, as also the Japanese English interpreter of the Japanese legation."

"The stated Sunday service" which Dr. Allen mentioned was evidently confined to missionaries who lived in adjoining compounds. A foreign Sunday service including other foreingers was not inaugurated until the latter half of 1886. The Rev. Edward A. Lawrence, writing from Seoul, says:

"Until lately even this concession (religious liberty to foreigners) was not made use of. But within the last month Sunday religious in the English language have been organized with alternate use of liturgical nnd non-liturgical forms. The number of worshippers does not warrant the present erection of a chapel. Nor would it have been considered wise to use the right conceded of building a church. But in this juncture Capt. Wm. H. Parker, the American Minister at Seoul, interposed with the offer of the office of the American legation. The Korean government was duly notified; it presented no objection, and for three successive Sundays the services have been held under the American flag, fifteen or twenty Americans and English being present. But while no formal objection was made, personal expressions have been thrown out to the American Minister and others, implying that

some of those connected with the government are displeased with the movement and wish to have it stopped."[176]

The group very wisely notified the government of these religious services and thus avoided all possible misapprehension. It was a very shrewd method of testing the real attitude of the government toward the Christian religion. The missionaries knew that the king had understood[177] the purpose of the missionaries, but the government's reaction toward the foreigners was unfavorable. The missionaries consequently adopted the policy of non-aggressive evangelism. Mr. Appenzeller wrote:

"The present social and political condition of Korea is such that it is the unanimous judgment of all the missionaries here not to attempt open evangelistic work. We do not go about in the mourner's garb of the natives as the Jesuits, but are open and frank in all our dealings with the Koreans. In this way we are fast gaining their confidence." [178]

Evangelistic activities were, however, quietly carried on through hospitals, schools, and private conversations. The chief reason for the government's prohibition of the Christian religion was the fear of foreign intervention, or of internal revolt by the adherents of the new faith.[179] The missionaries, therefore, could engage in the evangelistic work "as long as the attention of the government is not directed to their operations, or political complications do not arise to compel a protest."[180] "The truth is, therefore, that the government has winked at the prosecution of the missionaries' labor."[181] Mr. Underwood tells us the story of the early beginning of the evangelistic work as follows:

"As soon as we had secured a little knowledge of the language, we regularly went out into the lanes and byways, and, sitting down under some tree, near a frequent highway, or beside some medical spring, to which the people were in the habit of flocking, we would take out a book and start reading, and when several gathered round us to ask questions we would attempt to explain to them the book, its truth, and what it

176 E. W. Lawrence, "Mission in Korea," *The Gospel in All Lands* 1887, p. 274.
177 G. W. Gilmore, *Korea From Its Capital*, p. 301.
178 *M. E. North Report* for 1886, p. 267.
179 G W. Gilmore, *op. cit.*, p. 302.
180 *Ibid.*, p. 304.
181 G. W. Gilmore, *Korea From Its Capital*, 302.

meant ; but, of course, in all this, it was necessary to find some common ground on which we both stood, and lead them gradually, from what was, to them, the known, to the unknown. Later, this street work developed further, and gatherings were held on large streets, or in villages, and, in certain sections, street chapels were opened."[182]

The patient work of the missionaries was not without fruit. The first Korean Christian in Korea, Mr. No Tohsa.[183] was secretly baptized on July 11, 1886.[184] The story of the convert is often told and yet it is refreshing to read the account which Mr. Underwood wrote from Seoul on July 29, 1886, a few days after the administration of the rite.

"On Sunday last we had our first application for baptism . . . He is a Korean, who first heard about Christianity from its enemies, by reading what a Chinese book had said against Christians and the religion of Christ, and was led to try and look further into it. He simply knew of it as the foreign religion, and thought that the simplest way to find out about it would be to make the acquaintance of some foreigner . . . He soon made the acquaintance of Dr. Heron's teacher, and, professing to want to learn English, was brought to me. He tells me now that his only object was to see whether he could find any books or see anything that would give him light upon the subject of the foreign religion. As those who were studying did not come into my study at all, but had a room to themselves, he did not see what he was after, and soon left Seoul for the country where his family live, and I saw nothing of him again till early this spring, when he came to me with copies of Mark and Luke in Chinese. He had returned from the country the day before, and not having given up his searching had called upon Dr. Heron's teacher, who at this time was with Dr. Allen as interpreter, and had seen on Dr. Allen's desk these two books, which he quietly took home and sat up all night to read them, and came round to see me the next morning to tell me what good things he had found there, and to ask me to teach him more about what those books spoke of. I commenced to talk with him and soon found that his reading had not been careless, for as I would mention one thing and another that Christ had said or taught, he would at once turn to the chapter and verse in his Chinese copy and comment upon it ; and when in my broken Korean I was trying to tell him something and could not find the right words to explain it to him, he would catch the idea and turn at once to some verse to explain it. I supplied him with copies of all the Gospels in Chinese, and when he had

182 H. G Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, pp. 106, 107.
183 L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, p. 55.
184 *Supra*, p. 90, 91.

read them learned him one or two Chinese commentaries, and also some tracts in Chinese, as the 'Temple Keeper,' 'Salvation of the Soul,' and a small book called 'Easy Christian Doctrine.' He attended many of our English services . . . On Saturday last he called and asked whether he could come to the meeting on Sunday. I of course said that he could, and as the next day was our regular communion Sabbath I advised him to read the institution of the Supper, as given in Matthew, and also what the commentary said about it . . . He then told me that he would like to be baptized. I had never said anything to him on this point, and it is a conclusion that he has arrived at of his own accord. I asked him a number of questions that were as pointed as I could make them, and he was straightforward in his answers. The little book on Christian doctrine had evidently cleared up a good many things. I presented before him the fact that as yet he was going contrary to the law of his country, and that if he took this should be no turning back, and he seems to have thoroughly considered the whole subject."[185]

Mr. Appenzeller's prayer on Easter Day, 1885, on the shores of Chemulpo for the dawning of light and liberty in Korea seemed about to be realized. The Appenzellers landed on Korean soil on Easter Sunday, 1885, and on Easter of the following year the two daughters of the first two Methodist missionaries were baptized.[186] On Easter, in 1887, Mr. Appenzeller baptized his first convert, a Japanese.[187] On June 24 of the same year, one of his boys in the school was received on probation.[188] In September Mr. Appenzeller bought a small house in the southern part of the city and fitted it up for Sunday services and called it "Bethel" chapel. A "public service for Koreans" was held in the house on October 9, 1887.[189] On the following Sunday, Mr. Appenzeller baptized the first woman, the wife of his colporteur.[190] In the same year, the Methodist mission had the first episcopal visit by Bishop H. W. Warren and had added to its force Mr. F. Ohlinger and wife [transferred from China], and George Heber Jones. On November 25, 1888, the mission licensed two local preachers,

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185 Mr Underwood's letter from Seoul, July 29, 1886, *The Foreign Missionary*, Vol. 45, No. 5 (October, 1886), pp. 223, 224.
186 The Allen Diary, April 25, 1886.
187 *The Gospel in All Lands* for December, 1887, p. 525.
188 *Ibid., loc. cit*; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, Vol. III, p. 507.
189 *M. E. Report for 1887*, p. 314.
189 *Ibid.* for 1887, p. 314.

one of whom was formerly a colporteur under John Ross in Manchuria, while the other was the teacher of Chinese at the Pai Chai School. The handful of adherents was organized in the following year into three societies.[191] On the advice of the visiting Bishop E. G. Andrews, in 1890 the first Quarterly Conference and one church or circuit were formerly organized, and from that time on the mission, or rather the church, transacted the business according to the law of the Methodist Church. The total adherents reported in 1890 were one hundred and sixty-five.[192]

It will be recalled that the British and Foreign Bible Society had kept a Korean colporteur in Korea under the direction of Mr. Ross. This man settled at Sorai, on the west coast of Whanghai Province, and there made a few converts. "Toward the close of 1886," says Mr. Underwood, "the colporteur, Mr. Soh Sang Ryun, presented [himself] at my house, with a letter of introduction from Mr. Ross, and told me that there were a number desiring baptism in his village."[193] Mr. Underwood could not at the time comply with the invitation to go into the interior and administer baptism. "In the following spring," continues Mr. Underwood, "a delegation of the Christians in this village waited upon us, seeking baptism. They were examined before the whole mission, and finding they had been believers for some years, and were able to state intelligently the grounds of their faith, the mission unanimously decided that three of them should be admitted to the church by baptism."[194] The baptism of these three men was a very solemn affair, for it was supposed to involve danger to the lives of the recipients. "Mr. Underwood felt it his duty to set before these men the serious ricks they ran by being baptized. They said that they had fully considered them, and were ready to stand by their faith even unto death. They all seemed very earnest in what they said, and stated that for some time they had

191 M. E. North Report for 1889, p. 291.
192 *Ibid.* for 1880, pp. 272, 273.
193 H. G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, p. 107.
194 H. G. Underwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 138.

been holding a sort of service among themselves in one another's house."[195] While living in America, the writer heard Professor H. B. Hulbert, one of the government school teachers at that time, telling how he kept the door while Mr. Underwood baptized these men.[196] In the fall of 1887, Mr. Underwood took one of his memorable trips, and reached the village of Sorai. He found a company of seven ready for baptism, and gladly administered the rite. This obscure place on the west coast, with its rich romantic traditions of Christian beginnings, with its ground hallowed by the remains of one of the most consecrated and daring modern missionaries, with its splendid seashore to which labor-ridden missionaries are called to rest and recuperate, is revered as the cradle of Protestant Christianity in Korea. It was the church here which brought about the initiation of missionary itineration;[197] it was also self-supporting from its beginning.[198]

The official report of the Presbyterian Mission Board for 1888 speaks of the rise of the church in Korea as a "mysteriously sudden growth."[199] But was it any more mysterious than the growth of a grain of corn fallen in good ground? Mr. Underwood explains the growth in the following words:

"Throughout the whole of the northern province it seemed evident that the wide seed-sowing that had been carried on from China, and the books that had been circulated, had had their effect, and opportunities for effective work seemed more numerous in that direction than elsewhere. While, therefore, natives were employed to distribute and sell books in other parts of the land, the efforts of the missionaries were merely directed thither, and their trips were almost entirely toward the north. A most promising work was opening up at Euiju, and at one time there were gathered at this city from the surrounding villages and countries men to the number of over one hundred who asked to be received into full membership."[200]

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195 The Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1887, pp. 271, 272.
196 Cf. L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, p 61.
197 H. G. Underwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 197, 108.
198 *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 109.
199 *N. P. Report* for 1888, p. 170.
200 H. G. Underwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 138.

The work in the capital was also making progress. After hospitals and schools, the church was logically the next activity to be begun. Mr. Underwood wrote on October 7, 1887:

"Work here is going along grandly. A week ago Tuesday we completed the organization of a Presbyterian church by the election of two elders, whom we ordained last Sunday. We organized with fourteen members, and took in one more on Sunday. The church is growing daily, one might say. We have a number of applicants for baptism, and all the men seem in earnest. I am wanted, north, south and east, to baptize some Koreans, but I cannot go away from my school work. We have now one Korean colporteur and one evangelist here in Seoul."[201]

We do not know whether it was by deliberate arrangement, but Mr. John Ross of Manchuria, who had helped to introduce Protestant Christianity into Korea, witnessed the organization of the first Presbyterian church in Seoul. The solemnity and caution of the occasion has been described for us by the veteran missionary. Mr. Ross wrote:

"In connection with the New Testament I went to the capital by sea, which made the journey both possible and easy, arriving on an evening which was to me of peculiar interest. My host, the Rev. Mr. Underwood, informed me that he was to go to his little chapel that night to organize his small company into a Presbyterian church. Gladly accepting his kind invitation, I accompanied him and his medical colleague, when the darkness had fairly enmantled the city. Crossing the wide main streets, which, like all those eastern city streets, are unlit, we were guided by a Korean, with a small lantern, among narrow lanes till at last we were ushered into a small, open courtyard, whose gate was opened to our knock. A gentle tapping at a paper window secured our entry into a room, where we found a company of fourteen well dressed, intelligent-looking men. One of these was baptized that night, but the principal business was the election by the others of two men to be their elders. Two were unanimously elected, and the next Sabbath ordained."[202]

The church in the capital was growing. When, during the winter of 1888, Mr. J. S. Gale landed in Korea, he witnessed, on the Sunday of December 23, a church service attended by a congregation of fifty and the baptism of eleven

201 Letter from H. G. Underwood, *The Church at Home and Abroad*, Vol. 3 (February, 1888), p. 196.

202 J. Ross, "The Christian Dawn in Korea," *The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S., Vol. 3, No. 4 (April, 1890), p. 247.

"dusky young Koreans."[203] This progress evidently cheered the missionaries. Mr. Underwood says:

"Wherever the seed is sown it seems to take root, and bear fruit ....There are today two organized churches in this land, witha total membership of over a hundred. Applications for baptism are coming to Seoul to-day by the hundreds from all parts of the land where copies of the gospel have been distributed."[204]

LITERARY WORK

Of literary work there are three phases: for the Koreans, for the missionaries on the field, and in the interest of the people at the home base. The first two phases were entirely dependent on the acquision of the language. Learning any foreign language is a difficult task; in the case of the American missionaries, Korean was especially exacting, for it has no philological affinities with the Indo-European tongues.[205] The Koreans have their own phonetic alphabet which, Professor Hulbert declares, "For simplicity of construction and phonetic power, has not its superior in the world."[206] The grammar is rather difficult for English-speaking people, for it has imperfectly developed genders, while the ideas of person and number are largely left to the context for determination. But the most perplexing problem for a Westerner is the highly complicated use of verbs. The keen sense of social distinction has given rise to a system of honorifics whose proper application is essential to a right use of the language. There is also the difference between the written and the spoken language. The use of Chinese in the written language is prevalent. Chinese bears almost precisely the same relation to Korean that Latin does to English. Korean has its distinct grammatical structure but draws an immense number of words from the Chinese for the purpose of embellishment and precision. Last of all, the lack of proper language manuals

203 *The Missionary Review of the World* N. S., Vol. 2, No. 4 (April, 1889), p. 289.

204 Mr. Underwood's letter from Seoul, Dec. 23, 1888.—*The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S., Vol. 2, No. 4 (April, 1889), pp. 288, 289.

205 H. B. Hulbert, *A Comparative Grammar of the Korean Language and the Dravidian Dialects of India*, preface.

206 H. B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, p. 92.

placed the early missionaries at a loss. The only available assistance was the work of the French Catholic missionaries and the Scotch missionaries in Manchuria, to which one of the pioneer missionaries pays the following tribute:

"We must all bow our heads in acknowledgment of the heroism and patients, even to martyrdom, which made our first dictionary—the French—available to us. Nor must we forget the Rev. John Ross, who taught several of us our Korean alphabet through his primer; who gave us several of our helpers as the result of his Bible work from Manchuria, and who with the Rev. John MacIntyre, pioneered in Scripture translation and gave us that foundation in Biblical Korean for which I take pleasure here in registering my lasting gratitude."[207]

John Ross heads the list of those Protestant missionaries who made manuals for the study of the language. It is regrettable that the present writer has been unable to obtain access to the book to pass personal judgment upon it. From scattered notices we have the following data. Ross's book, "Corean Speech," was an independent work of the author with the aid of his Korean teacher. It was published in 1887 and served its day in teaching the alphabet to the pioneer missionaries. It was a "work produced under great difficulties, but so full of errors as to render it almost useless."[208]

What seems to have been the next attempt in the making of a manual was the Phrase-Book of Allen which was never published. The writer has examined the manuscript copy and it does not impress him as being anything more than an exercise book. But it is preserved with a note that it was used by other missionaries in learning the language.

The last of the manuals of the period was not the product of a missionary, but was used by the early language students. Mr. James Scott, of H. B. M.'s Consular Service in Korea, published "A Korean Manual or Phrase-Book, with Introductory Grammar" in 1887. This book had its good points in providing exercises in the colloquial dialect. But the author almost entirely followed the work of the French missionaries

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207 W. B. Scranton, *Historical Sketch of the Korea Mission of the Methodist Church, The Korean Repository*, Vol. 5, No. 7 (July, 1898), p. 260.

208 *The Japan Mail* for October 22, 1887, p. 400.

and adopted the old-fashioned system. He himself knew little of the Korean language. His book, however, served its day as a substitute for the work of Ross.[209]

In this connection, we must record biographical data of the pioneers in the study of the language. Among the Protestant missionaries, the outstanding grammarian and lexicographer is undoubtedly the Rev. James Scrath Gale, D. D. Dr. Gale is a Canadian and was graduated from Toronto University. He was sent out to Korea by the Young Men's Christian Association of his university and landed on December 15, 1888. Dr. Gale opened his missionary labor at Fusan in 1889, and continued under the university mission until 1891, when he was appointed a missionary of the American Presbyterian Board. In 1902, he married the widow of Dr. Heron and in that year opened a mission station at Wonsan. In 1898 Dr. Gale settled in Seoul. Conspicuous contributions have come from his fruitful pen. He has served as a member of the Committee of Bible Translators, and more recently, with the aid of a Korean Christian, has published his own translation of the Bible.[210] He has written several books in English on Korean history, literature, and life of the people. Dr. Gale had spent some time in Paris in Christian work and had a knowledge of the French language which enabled him to make available the stores of information gathered by the French Fathers concerning Korea. With these aids, after personal research and study, he compiled a new and complete Korean-English Dictionary concerning which an equally able lexicographer says : "is a monumental work marked by painstaking and careful scholarship. It covers the entire ground of the Korean side of the language and the more we have used it the greater has grown our confidence in its accuracy and value."[211]

The Reverend George Heber Jones, D. D., the author of an English-Korean dictionary, was born on August 14, 1867,

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209 *The Japan Mail* for October, 1887, p. 403.
210 J. F. Genso, "A New Translation of the Bible," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (April, 1926), pp. 81, 82.
211 G. H. Jones, *An English-Korean Dictionary*, ii.

in Mohawk, New York. He prepared for college at the public school at Utica, New York, and received the A. B. degree from the American University at Harrison, Tennessee. He was appointed to missionary work in Korea by the Methodist Board in 1887. Beginning with the following year, he engaged in educational work at Seoul. While Mr. Appenzeller was on furlough, 1892-1893, he served as the principal of Pai Chai School. He married Miss Margaret J. Bengel, of Pomeroy, Ohio, who was then a missionary under the Woman's Board of his church. Dr. Jones was presiding elder of the Chemulpo district 1895 to 1903, and was superintendent of the missions from 1897 to 1899. When he returned to America in 1903 he served as one of the secretaries of the Mission Board for three years and returned again to Korea in 1907. He became the president of the Bible Institute and of the Union Theological Seminary of the Methodist churches in Korea in 1907, and held that office until 1911. In the latter year Dr. Jones returned permanently to America and entered the home office of the mission as editorial secretary. He was the youngest missionary appointed to Korea, being twenty years of age when he arrived. In the course of time he acquired marked facility in the language and made extensive studies in Korean history, social customs, and religion. He served as a member of the Board of Bible Translators. He was at one time editor of the *Korean Repository* and wrote voluminous magazine articles and pamphlets on Korea for the use of missionary education in America. Dr. Jones died on May 11, 1910. His co-worker, Dr. W. Arthur Noble, says: "His influence for good abides with the entire church."[212]

Mr. Underwood was a pioneer also in language study. Soon after his arrival in Seoul, he secured a Korean Roman Catholic, Song Duk Jo,[213] as his language teacher. He was the best that could be had. He had had much experience in teaching foreigners, having taught "some six or seven" of the French missionaries and also having helped them complete

212 W. A. Noble, Dr. George Heber Jones, "An Appreciation," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 15, No. 7 (July, 1919), p. 147.

Korean-French dictionary.[213] Through his teacher Mr. Underwood received the benefits of the labor of the French fathers and their Korean co-workers in compiling the dictionary. As the result of his careful study, he brought out "An Introduction to the Korean Spoken Language" in 1890 in Yokohama. It was divided into two parts; the first "Grammatical Notes," and the second, "English into Korean." At the same time, with the aid of H. B. Hulbert and J. S. Gale, he published, in Yokohama, an equally record-making work, "A Concise Dictionary of the Korean Language." This work contained Korean-English and English-Korean parts. It was the father of all later Korean-English dictionaries. Thus by the end of the period under review there were language manuals, a grammar, and a dictionary.

The literary work during the period, besides Bible translation, was of two kinds—translation of formulae of the Christian religion, and tracts of Christian apologetics. Under the former class we list the catechisms, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and other articles of faith.[214] One of the most widely known works on Christian apologetics in the whole Orient was at that time Dr. W. A. P. Martin's book on the "Evidences of Christianity.[215] The writer recalls the weary hours spent in memorizing it. There are other titles on the subject, such as "The Nature of God," "Controverted Points of Christianity," and "Romanism and Protestanism." Most of these works were translated from Chinese rather than from English. With due respect to the pioneer missionaries, we must remember that most of the translation was actually done by their language teachers and secretaries.[216] A few hymns such as "Nearer,

213 Underwood's letter from Seoul dated July 6, 1885, *The Foreign Missionary*, Vol. 44, No. 6 (November, 1885), p. 272.

214 *M. E. North Report* for 1890, p. 273.

215 Known in Japan in Japanese pronunciation "Tendosogen,"—O. Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan*, Vol. 2, p. 117.

216 *M. E. North Report* for 1886, p. 267. The report reads: "Our catechism *is* translated and published in the Korean language." It must be remembered that Rijutei translated the Methodist catechism. Dr. Maclay says: "Mr. Rijutei....having before him the text of the catechism of our church which I had translated into Chinese, together with a Japanese translation of it by Rev. Julius

my God, to thee," had been translated, but there was no extensive singing in the services for the fear that the practice would attract too great attention. The first hymn book was not printed until 1893.

THE KOREAN RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY

We have already observed the great effect of the printed page upon the Korean people. The establishment of the Roman Catholic church in Korea, Ross's work among the Koreans in the Manchurian valleys, the conversion of the Korean students in Japan, and the seed-sowing in Korea during the opening days, were all done through Christian literature. The circulation of Christian books and pamphlets has been one of the most effective missionary methods. The Protestant missionaries early realized the need of systematic publication and dissemination of literature. The missionaries approached the Toronto Tract Society, the American Tract Society, and the Religious Tract Society of London for financial aid for the publication of tracts that they were preparing, and grants were obtained to commence publications in a small way.[217] In order to use these grants most advantageously, in 1889 the Korean Religious Tract Society was organized. The origin of the society has been attributed to three missionaries: to Dr. Heron, the "idea,"[218] to Dr. Underwood, the securing of financial aid from the tract societies in England and America;[219] and to Mr. Ohlinger, the "organi-

Soper, D. D., he had but little difficulty in ascertaining the exact sense of the original, and....was able to express it in idiomatic Korean. An edition of 1,000 copies was published, and the catechism was ready for our missionaries when they reached Korea."—R. S. Maclay, "Commencement of the Korea Methodist Episcopal Mission," *The Gospel in All Lands* for October, 1896, p. 500. But the missionaries made no acknowledgment of Rijutei's labor. Mrs. Underwood says: "A little over a year after his [Dr. Underwood] arrival in Korea, he published the first tentative version of the Gospel of Mark."—*Underwood of Korea*, p. 48. The Gospel of Mark was translated by Rijutei and was published in Japan by the American Bible Society, before Dr. Underwood came to Korea. *Supra* p. 71.

217 G. Bonwick, "The Birth of the Korean Religious Tract Society," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (January, 1914), p. 12; "The Korean Religious Tract Society," *The Korean Repository*, Vol. 3 (October, 1896), pp. 413, 414.

218 *Quarto Centennial Papers, op. cit.*, p. 112.

219 L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, p. 46.

zation."[220] Its object, indicated in the name, is the "publishing and circulating of Christian tracts and periodicals throughout the Kingdom of Korea." The constitution of the society was adopted on June 25, 1890. It provides a board of trustees, a self-perpetuating body composed of twelve members, which is the governing body of the society. It elects from its members a president, a vice-president, a corresponding secretary, a recording secretary, a treasurer, and two committees, executive and examining. These committees practically carried on the work of the society. The examining committee cannot have more than two members from the same denomination. It has entire oversight of the doctrinal and literary character of the publications. The committee may recommend for publication, but the executive committee has the deciding voice. The society was under the direction of the officers in the field, but the home societies made periodical grants. However, a large part of the support has for many years been drawn from missionaries.[221]

THE TRI-LINGUAL PRESS

Obviously the next step was the establishment of printing presses. The Tri-lingual Press of the Methodist mission was begun in order to give employment to self-supporting students,[222] and to print Christian literature. The mission intended to open the press in the fall of 1888,[323] but we do not have a report of it until 1891. Mr. Ohlinger, the superintendent of the plant, then wrote:

"The difficulties we have to contend with are numerous. Nearly all our purchases have been made in China and Japan, and the 'import,' together with the transportation, makes all our material very expensive. We find it difficult to compete with the large printing-establishments in Japan, where much child labor is employed. At times the work has barely been sufficient to keep the students who work their way at school by type setting."[224]

220 *The Korean Repository, op. cit.*, p. 413
221 *The Korean Repository, op. cit.*, pp. 413, 414; L. H. Underwood, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
222 *M. E. North Report* for 1888, p. 339.
223 Letter from George Heber Jones from Seoul dated Oct. 9, 1888, *The Gospel in All Lands* for January, 1889, p. 32.
224 *M. E. North Report* for 1891, p. 272.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE

The translation of the Bible into Korean was carried on both in Manchuria and in Japan. We have already noted the publication of the Ross version of the Gospels of Mark and Luke in 1884 by the National Bible Society of Scotland. These portions of the New Testament, together with other Christian literature and the Chinese Bibles, were circulated in Korea through the colporteurs. The translation of the entire New Testament was completed and was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1887. Rijutei, within two months after his baptism, in April, 1883, completed a Sino-Korean New Testament, adding the Korean apparatus for easy reading.[225] He translated the Gospel of Mark into pure Korean in 1884, and the Gospel of Luke in the following year.[226] An edition of one thousand copies of the Sino-Korean Gospels and the Acts was published in 1884,[227] and the Rijutei translation of the Gospel of Mark was printed in the early part of 1885.[228] The Rijutei version of the Gospel of Luke was not published, but the manuscript was submitted to scholars of the Korean language for examination and improvement.[229] We do not doubt that this means that it was turned over to the missionaries in Korea for revision.

When the American missionaries arrived in Korea through Japan, they brought with them portions of the New Testament and other Christian literature.[230] Rev. W. D. Reynolds, an American missionary under the Foreign Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, who has rendered conspicuous service in translating the Bible, speaks of the early translations as follows:

"The Ross and Rijutei versions were of necessity almost wholly the work of Korean scholars translating from Chinese and Japanese Scriptures, without adequate revision by a foreigner, versed in both the

225 The Annual Report of the American Bible Society for 1884, p. 136.
226 *Ibid.* for 1886, pp, 144, 145.
227 *Ibid.* for 1885, p. 146.
228 *Ibid.* for 1886, p. 1886, p. 144; for 1887, p. 146.
229 *Ibid.* for 188, p. 144.
230 W. B. Scranton, "Historical Sketch of the Korea Mission, the Methodist Episcopal church," *The Korean Repository*, Vol. 5, No. 7 (July, 1898), p. 257.

original and Korean. However grateful we must always feel for these pioneer translations, the stilted style, abounding in Chinese derivatives and provincial expressions, with frequent errors, obscure renderings, queer spellings and archaic type, caused the early missionaries to resolve to make a new translation rather than waste time patching up the old."[231]

But there is much evidence of the work being patched up from the old. Mrs. Underwood tells that Dr. Underwood and Mr. Appenzeller had "worked over" the first tentative version of the Gospel of Mark, and Mr. Henry Loomis said:

"The agent of the National Bible Society of Scotland has published in Japan a *revision* of the Corean translation of the Gospel of Mark, which was made for the American Bible Society by Rijutei."[232]

Mr. Appenzeller reports: "I have also given considerable time to revising an edition of St. Luke's Gospel by Rev. John Ross.[233]

In the early days each missionary independently engaged in the revision or translation of the Bible as time and energy allowed. Early in 1887, when Mr. Underwood was in Japan, Dr. J. C. Hepburn suggested that he form a Bible committee among the missionaries.[234] Upon Mr. Underwood's return to Korea, in February of 1887, a meeting of all the missionaries then in the field was held in Seoul and it was "agreed that those present should form themselves into a committee for the purpose of translating or supervising the translation of the Bible into the Korean language.[235] A provisional constitution and by-laws were adopted by the committee, providing for a Permanent Bible Committee, a Translating Committee, and a general Revising Committee. The last two bodies were appointed by the permanent committee, which in turn derived its authority from the mass meeting of the missionaries in

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231 W. D. Reynolds, "The Contribution of the Bible Societies to the Christianization of Korea," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 12, No. 5 (May, 1916), p. 127.

232 *American Bible Society Report* for 1888, p. 157.

233 *M. E. North Report* for 1890, p. 273; cf. *The Korean Repository*, Vol. No. 5 (May, 1895), p. 196.

234 H. G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, p. 121.

235 "The Translation of the Scriptures," *The Korean Repository*, Vol. 2, No. 5, (May, 1895), p. 195.

the field.[236] The personnel of the mass meeting and the various committees were identical for some time, there being few missionaries. Consequently the four male missionaries were responsible for the translation of various books of the New Testament. By 1890, the committee had published—besides the Gospel of Mark, which was the revision by Underwood and Appenzeller—the Gospels of Luke and John.[237] But in order to assign definite responsibilities for the speedy accomplishment of such a stupendous work, on June 11, 1890, the Permanent Bible Committee "appointed a committee of two to prepare within two years from date a tentative edition of the whole New Testament."[238] Dr. Underwood and Dr. Scranton were assigned this important task. Before they had made any great progress, they were obliged to return to America and the work was suspended until after 1890.

BIBLE SOCIETIES

During this period three Bible Societies engaged in work in Korea. The National Bible Society of Scotland maintained a Japanese colporteur at Fusan until his death (1886).[239] In that year it placed two other Japanese colporteurs at Seoul and Chemulpo,[240] but we have no report of their work. Mr. Underwood went to Japan in 1887, [241] taking with him the manuscript of the Gospel of Mark which he and Mr. Appenzeller had worked over. He appoached Mr. Robert Austin Thomson, agent for the National Bible Society of Scotland, and asked him to publish the Gospel on the plea that the Ross version was not available for the Seoul district.[242] "Mr. Thomson consented to print a small edition of two thousand copies of their translation of St. Mark's gospel on condition

236 W. D. Reynolds, "Bible Translation in Korea," *The Korean Repository*, Vol. 3, No. 12 (December, 1896), p. 469.
237 *American Bible Society Report* for 1889, p. 156.
238 "The Translation of the Scriptures," *The Korean Repository*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (May, 1895), p. 196.
239 Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland for 1887, p. 39 *Supra* p. 49, 50, 72.
240 American Bible Society Report for 1887, p. 145.
241 L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, p. 67.
242 Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland for 1887, pp. 39,40.

that the other Bible Societies share in it at will."[243] The American Bible Society published the Sino-Korean version made by Rijutei in 1884, and also his monoglot version of Mark's Gospel.[244] Rev. Henry Loomis visited Korea in October, 1885, with a view to opening work in Korea for the American Bible Society, but found that the political situation was unsettled, there was no religious toleration, and that there were not enough Christians for three Bible societies to work upon. Consequently, he was advised by the Society "to be watchful for rendering such assistance as may be appropriate,"[245] and the American Bible Society did not inaugurate their work there until later years.

The British and Foreign Bible Society had, from the beginning, a large share in the Bible work in Korea. As early as 1883, Soh Sang Ryun, who was the Korean language teacher of John Ross, was appointed colporteur of the society. Soh was asked to reach the capital if possible. In the course of his journey to Seoul, he distributed Christian literature and lived for a time in his home village at Sorai, where he made a few converts. Later he reached the capital and found that the American missionaries had just arrived. Soh did not report himself to them, for he wanted to have Mr. Ross come to the capital and baptize his converts.[246] Mr. Ross was informed that there were over a hundred believers and was urged to make the journey to baptize them. He could not, however, comply with the invitation.[247] In 1885, the society sent its agent in China, Mr. Even Bryant, to Korea through Manchuria. He failed to enter the country and reported to the society that "until the door is thrown open somewhat wider, colportage cannot be adequately organized and superintended in Corea"[248] However, in the following,

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243 Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland for 1887, pp. 39, 40.
244 American Bible Society Report for 1885, p. 146.
245 *Ibid.* for 1891, p. 155.
246 Report of the Foreign Mission Board of the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland for 1887-1887, pp. 71, 72.
247 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
248 Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1886, p. 261.

year he made entrance *via* Shanghai and Nagasaki. Bryant reached Seoul in March, 1887, and met the American missionaries. The purpose of his visit was to prospect the country and to consult with Soh in regard to his experience in colportage. He could, however, find no trace of Soh. After Bryant had returned to China, Soh appeared before Mr. Underwood with three applicants for baptism from his home village, Sorai,[249] as has been recounted above. Another result of the work of Mr. Ross and of the British and Foreign Bible Society was the training of future colporteurs and evangelists. The first colporteur was sent out by Mr. Appenzeller in 1887 and was a man who had served in the same capacity under Mr. Ross.[250] There were other converts of those Scotch missionaries who were true to the new faith and later became church leaders. Among these we must mention Paik Hong Chun,[251] probably the first Korean baptized in Manchuria, Han Suk Chin, a leader among Christians in Euiju, and Li Yung Ho who, in as early as 1888, proclaimed "his faith from the housetops."[252] The British and Foreign Bible Society, however, did not begin formal work in Korea until 1893.

PREACHING BY DEEDS

Missionary work does not and must not stop with instruction in class-rooms, healing in hospital wards, Sunday preaching, and the administration of religious rites. A missionary's life and deeds are the most important part of his work, for preaching by deeds is more effective than words. By their wholesome family life of love and mutual respect, the early missionaries to Korea won the admiration of the people.[253] Their fair dealing in business matters, such as the

249 Annual Report of the British aud Foreign Bible Society for 1887, pp. 270-272.
250 M. E. North Report for 1887, p. 314.
251 Pigott, "Two Corean Converts," *The Missionary Review* (Princeton), Vol. 3, No. 6 (Nov. 1880), p. 496. Bye is the Chinese pronunciation for Paik in Korea and Tsway for Choi; Cf. *Quarto Centennial Paper, op. cit.* p. 14.
252 Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1889, p. 241.
253 "Christianity in Korea," *The Korea Review*, Philadelphia Vol. 1, No. 10 (Dec. 1919), p. 1.

purchasing of real estate,[254] proved their up-right character and trustworthiness. Above all, the early missionaries preached eloquent sermons through their service during the plague of Asiatic cholera in the summer of 1886. The epidemic spread among the poorer classes[255] in Seoul and the vicinity. It did not last long,[256] but the handful of pioneers rendered most unselfish service in combatting it.[257] It was in the days when the missionaries did not have the liberty of preaching, but "the Christian homes and Christian lives exercised their sweet influence, and good was accomplished in ways and by means of which the missionaries had never dreamed."[258]

As we have already noted, the obstacles which these pioneers had to face were numerous: the lack of treaty authorization, the want of physical comforts, the blind prejudice and ignorance of the low-class people, the difficulty of reaching families due to the rigid separation of sexes, and the uncertainty of the government's policy toward them. Dr Scranton tells us that the early missionaries were greeted with "Go slow," "Be cautious" "No rights,"[259] and the like. In spite of obstacles, Christian work was quietly carried on, until it was interrupted by the interdict of 1888. This check was chiefly directed against the Roman Catholics, but it also had

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254 The section in the city of Seoul known as Chungdong was chosen by foreigners as the foreign quarter. George Heber Jones says: "The ground occupied by the legations, the missionary compounds, and foreign residences and the inclosure of the detached palace erected by the late Emperor of Korea, had probably dislodged a population of twenty thousand from this neighborhood." The same author declares: "It has been the policy of the missionaries to never take advantage of the Koreans, but to pay full market value and a little more so that the natives have always gone from these transactions impressed with the new spirit of fairness and friendship that animates Christian business method.—*The Rise of the Church in Korea,* Typewritten copy deposited at the Mission Research Library, New York City.

255 M. E. North Report for 1886, pp. 286, 287.

256 M. E. North Report for 1886, p. 286, 287.

257 L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea,* p. 56.

258 Report of Mrs. M. N. Scranton, Annual Report of the New England Branch, Woman's Foreign Missionary Society for 1885, p. 28.

259 W. B. Scranton, "Historical Sketch of the Korea Mission," *The Korean Repository,* Vol. 5, No. 7. (July, 1889), p. 257.

produced a great effect upon the Protestant Christian community. The immediate cause of the interdict, as far as it is known, was due to the Roman Catholics who had chosen one of the highest points in the city, overlooking the palace and adjoining the temple holding royal ancestral tablets, for their future cathedral site. The property had been obtained through a Korean agent without the knowledge of the government. The king, upon learning of the design, requested the Roman Catholics, through the French legation, to change the site, but they remained obdurate, utterly refused to yield, and proceeded to lay the foundations of the cathedral. It must be recalled that Seoul was not a treaty city. The request was courteous, as they were permitted to choose any other place in the city, but the French had the backing of their own government and were seconded by their close ally, Russia, and would not compromise. There immediately followed a decree against religious propaganda.[260]

Roman Catholics were the chief object of the interdict, but there was also reason to suspect a purpose of checking the work of Protestants.[261] In the spring of 1888, Mr. Underwood and Mr. Appenzeller had started on a long trip in the north of Korea. They travelled as far north as the city of Pyeng Yang, spending two weeks in the journey. The general belief among the Protestant group was that by undertaking to carry their evangelistic work into the interior they had precipitated this interdict. Mr Hugh A. Dinsmore, the American Minister at Seoul, informed the sojourning missionaries that he

"had received from the Korean foreign office, by the order of his majesty, the king, a dispatch stating that it is well known to the Korean government that Americans residing in Korea are engaged in different ways in disseminating the doctrines of the Christian religion ; citing the fact that it is objectionable to the government, not authorized by the treaty, and demanding that it shall cease. My aid, as the minister of the United States, being invoked to this end, it becomes my duty to request that you will refrain from teaching the Christian religion and administering its rites and ordinances to the Korean people."[262]

260 M. E. North Report for 1888, p. 340.
261 L. H. Underwood, *Fifteen Years Among the Top-Knots*, pp. 13, 14
262 M. E. North Report for 1888, pp. 337, 338.

The missionaries obeyed and returned to Seoul immediately. However, upon their return to the capital they found a difference of opinion among their fellow missionaries. While some held that the decree had never been issued against the Protestants, the majority argued that the order came from the American legation, and that as the prohibition of the Christian religion was the law of the land, there was no other course open to law-abiding people except obedience. From the month of May[263] until the following September all religious activities among the Koreans, including morning prayers at schools and Sunday services, were abandoned. The terror was even greater among the Christian communities in the country. When the missionaries visited their proselytes in the following year, they found that they had burned all the Christian literature and had ceased their religious practices to the degree that in some sections of the country no traces of missionary work could be found.[264]

PERSECUTIONS

Immediately following the interdict, some political agitators started rumors of approaching riots against all foreigners. The air was full of stories and it seemed that the Tientsin massacre of 1870 was about to be repeated. It was rumored that foreigners were paying Korean scoundrels to kidnap children to eat and to use their eyes[265] for developing photographs. "Large crowds of angry people congregated, scowling, muttering, andt hreatening. Koreans carrying their own children were attacked, beaten, and even killed, on the supposition that they were kidnapping the children of others; and a high official, who tried to protect one of these men, was pulled from his chair, and narrowly escaped with his life....It was considered unsafe for foreigners to be seen on the street. Marines were called up from Chemulpo to guard the different legations, and some Americans even packed

263 M. E. North Report for 1888, p. 337.
264 W. B. Scranton's report, Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1889, p. 282.
265 This rumor was prevalent in the whole Orient in early days. It is probable it was introduced into Korea from China. Cf. *The Gospel Lands for July, 1896*, p. 343.

away their most necessary clothing and valuables, preparatory to fleeing to the port."[266] Among other Western institutions, the hospitals were regarded as baby-butchering headquarters, and the foreign legations as baby-flesh consuming institutions. The foreign representatives at once approached the Korean government for protection of their nationals and the government soon checked the rumors and restored quiet. The episode is known as the "Baby-Riot."

The effects of the interdict and the "riot" were threefold. First of all, the immediate compliance of the Protestant missionaries to the government order made a favorable impression upon the officials.[267] The second result, a more significant one, was the vindication of missionary work, which had so far been misunderstood by the prejudiced. The missionary had passed his test. The suspicious found no proof of the rumors that they had heard, and openly and publicly both government and people gave due recognition that the work of the missionary was honorable and good. Dr. Scranton was right, when he said: "We have nearly passed the time of probation with the people, and they begin to trust us implicitly, when (first) they would only laugh at our novel propositions for their help."[268] But the third effect, that produced at the home base, was far from being favorable. The secular press carried reports of riots and bloodshed, and much apprehension with regard to the safety of the missionaries was aroused.[269] "The Methodist Board has 'cut down appropriations because the work is stopped in Korea!'"[270] "The Presbyterian Board has decided to send no more men until freedom of religion is granted."[271] Thus the "Check in Korea" became a new check *for* Korea, as far

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266 L. H. Underwood, *Fifteen Years among the Top-Knots*, pp. 15, 16; *Underwood of Korea*, p. 74.
267 M. E. North Report for 1888, p. 338.
268 *Ibid.* for 1889, pp. 293, 294.
169 *The Church at Home and Abroad* for August, 1888, p. 198; for September, p. 228.
270 Letter from Mr. Underwood in Seoul dated Jan. 2. 1889.—*The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S., Vol. 2, No. 6 (June, 1889), p. 457.
271 *Ibid., loc. cit.*

as mission work was concerned. The missionaries in the field were greatly handicapped by the lack of men and funds. Powerful appeals were made by missionaries to the boards and to the churches at home.[272]

The persecution that put the first Korean Christians to the proof arose over the time-honored custom of ancestorworship. The test case arose in connection with the first convert. He was baptized secretly, and his convertion was not made known even to his family. However, his neglect of his religious duties soon placed him under public suspicion. It was a critical moment, for the first Protestant missionaries in Korea had to decide the very important question of their policy toward the custom. Should it be apparent conformity and compromise, or absolute rejection? The missionaries at once adopted the latter course. Since the disclosure of the convert's new faith would bring danger to his life, temporary exile was contemplated and it was suggested that he be sent to China to take studies in the Christian religion.[273] There were some unprincipled local magistrates who persecuted Christian converts under the pretext of enforcing the anti-Christian laws, but in reality as a method of "squeeze."[274] There was also persecution by the social ostracism of those parents who sent their children to mission schools and orphanages.[275] It was reported that colporteurs were beaten and evangelists were stoned, but these actions were often due to the tactlessness of the sufferers rather than to hatred and antagonism on the part of the people.[276] As there were not yet, however, many Christians, there were no great persecutions.

SUMMARY OF MISSIONARY POLICIES

It may not be out of place to add a summary of the policies of the denominations during the period covered by this chapter. The Presbyterians began their work under the

272 *Missionary Review of the World,* N. S. Vol. 2. No. 6 (June 1889) pp. 456, 457.
273 E. A. Lawrence, "Missions in Korea," *The Gospel in All Lands* for June, 1887, p. 274.
274 M. E. North Report for 1888, p. 338.
275 *Supra,* p. 119.
276 M. E. North Report for 1888, p. 338.

wing of the government. Consequently their policy was to win the favor of the state, that obstacles might not be unnecessarily placed in their way. Once having gained a foothold through the establishment of the government hospital, they pursued the policy of maintaining the *status quo* and of avoiding the opposition of the conservative party. The mission board, because of the unstable political situation and of the impossibility of carrying on extensive mission work, did not increase the staff or appropriations until after 1890. Presbyterian policy was, therefore, conservative and cautious. The Methodists, however, were more aggressive. The appointment of Dr. Maclay of Japan, as the first superintendent of the Korea mission, led to friendly relations with the Japanese. Maclay was deeply impressed by the "prominent position and liberal policy of the Japanese government" in Korea during his visit in 1884.[277] Methodist missionaries entered with letters of introduction from Japanese to acquaintances in Korea,[278]—while the Koreans were still inaccessible—and at once began their missionary labor among the Japanese connected with the legation.[279] To break down prejudice among the Koreans, they built hospitals and dispensaries in different sections of the city, constructed one of the first prominent school buildings in the heart of the capital, and inaugurated extensive school work for girls. The Board increased the missionary force and budget as rapidly as resources at home would permit. Thus the Presbyterians won favor with the government by acquiescing in its policy, and the Methodists gradually gained the confidence of the populace through their philanthropic institutions. By the year 1890 it was certain that the Protestant missions were in Korea to stay.

277 R. S. Maclay, "Commencement of the Korea Mission," *The Gospel in All Lands* November, 1896, p. 499.

278 R. S. Maclay, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

279 "We have a very interesting work among the Japanese here. A young attaché to the legation came to Korea last fall. He had been taught Christianity by a faithful college president several years ago. The seed there sown ripened, and he was baptized last Easter. All last winter he and two others were taught by Mr. Appenzeller. This fall the class was moved to the Japanese consul's house, and the attendance has been as high as twelve at a meeting."—*M. E. Report* for 1886, p. 267.

SUMMARY OF MISSIONARY METHODS

As Korea was one of the youngest Protestant foreign mission fields, missionaries had naturally used the methods that had been previously evolved elsewhere. Among others, that known as the Nevius method,[280] was studied and tried with success. The four cardinal points of this system were as follows :

"First, to let each man 'abide in the calling wherein he was found,' teaching that each was to be an individual worker for Christ and to live Christ in his own neighborhood, supporting himself by his trade.

"Second, to develop Church methods and machinery only so far as the native Church was able to take care of and manage the same.

"Third, as far as the Church itself was able to provide the men and means, to set aside those who seemed the better qualified to do evangelistic work among their neighbors.

"Fourth, to let the natives provide their own church buildings, which were to be native in architecture, and of such style as the local church could afford to put up."[281]

Additional methods were initiated. Itineration in the country, the distribution of Christian literature, and street preaching, were general. Besides reaching the people through institutions such as hospitals and schools and through teaching classes in English, the most effective method was personal contacts.[282] Every Korean home of any standing has a "Sarang" where men gather together to talk over current events, to hear one of the number read from a story book, and to enjoy social contacts. The men lived in the "Sarangs," while the women ruled their "Anpangs" or inner-apartments. The pioneer missionaries visited these "Sarangs" or established their own guest-rooms where the Koreans could

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280 For the extent of the use of the method, see subsequent chapters.

281 H. G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, pp. 109, 110. Mr. Underwood writes that the Nevius methods were not adopted until Dr. Nevius' visit to Seoul in June, 1890. But Mrs. Underwood, describing the experience with the "Christians" at Euiju during the interior journey in 1889, wrote : "They ["bitter and disappointing" experiences with insincere "Christians" at Euiju]....helped to strengthen us in those ideas of rigid self-support which Mr. Underwood had already, from the study of Dr. Nevius' book, begun to consider deeply and to some extent follow."—*Fifteen Years Among the Top-Knots*, p. 84. Cf. H. S. C. Nevius, *The Life of John Livingston Nevius*, pp. 446-450.

282 M. E. North Report for 1888, p. 290.

come and go freely. Missionaries met visitors cordially and discussed religious subjects with them. While men missionaries reached men through "Sarangs," women missionaries began to invade the "Anpangs." Thus hand-to-hand and house-to-house work was carried on, even while public preaching was not allowed. Before the close of the period, the training classes were inaugurated.[283] We shall have occasion later to speak of them more at length, so that it will suffice here to state that the purpose of these classes was to teach outstanding Christians of the congregations in order to send them out to preach among their neighbors.

From the very beginning, one of the great emphases in institutional work was on self-support, the cornerstone of the "indigenization" of the Korean church.[284] Hospitals and schools did effective work in destroying the prejudice of the people and rooting out suspicion and superstition. The colportage work under the missionaries in Manchuria, and also under the direction of American missionaries at Seoul, was conducted throughout the country, especially in the North.[285]

EFFECT ON ENVIRONMENT

The establishment of Protestant missions influenced the nation in many ways. It furthered a better understanding of the West by imparting a knowledge of the superior material science, and the trustworthy and upright character of Westerners. The introduction of Western educational methods was also useful. The old educational system had trained a selected few for the civil service. The conception of public education and of modern curricula first came through contact with the missionaries. The establishment of schools for girls and women was also a distinctive contribution.

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283 H. G. Underwood's letter of Jan. 2, 1889, from Seoul.—*The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S. Vol 2, No. 6 (June, 1889), p. 457.

284 Self-support policy of the pioneers served a twofold purpose. First, it was an elimination method in hospitals.—*The M. E. North Report* for 1886, p. 278. Second, it was to teach self-respect and responsibility.—*The M. E. North Report* for 1886, p. 272.

285 *The M. E. North Report* for 1888, p. 337.

The idea of institutional philanthropy was introduced through the hospitals and orphanages. The Koreans had been sympathetic and helpful neighbors to each other, but institutional philanthropy was new. Another monumental effect, which we shall discuss more fully later, was the revival of the Korean script. The Korean alphabet should have been one of the best instruments in the history of Korean culture, but scholars had despised it and had substituted the Chinese characters. The translation of the Bible and the Christian literature into Korean gave the occasion for the revival of the Korean script. What was probably the first attempt to compile a pure Korean Grammer was made by Catholic and Protestant missionaries. The systematization of the spelling and the writing of the Korean script was also fostered.

The attitude of the government toward missionaries was rapidly changing. From the beginning, the state seemed to make a very fine distinction between Americans as citizens and as missionaries. America was then the nation most friendly toward Korea. After the conclusion of the Shufeldt treaty, the Korean government trusted "American influence as the chief hope of independence and rapid advancement."[286] The special embassy to the United States, employment of American advisers to the chief departments of the government,[287] the request for American teachers for government schools, repeated declarations of friendship and confidence by the Korean legation at Washington,[288] and the employment of American engineers to open mines, gave proof of the amicable feeling of the peninsular kingdom toward the American nation. When the first American men and women doctors came to Korea, they were appointed to be physicians to the king and queen. The government opened, equipped, and maintained a hospital for them. When Korea despatched the first resident minister to Wastington, an American citizen was requested to accompany him. The government even

286 *N. P. Report* for 1889, P. 172.

187 Commodore Shufeldt was to be employed as political adviser.—T. Dennett, "Early American Policy in Korea, 1883-7," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 1. (March, 1923), pp. 87, 88 and footnotes.

288 *N. P. Report* for 1889, p. 172.

unbarred the closed gates of the most secluded fortresses[289] to American citizens for summer retreat and recreation. But a missionary was an anomaly.[290] He had no treaty right to carry on proselyting. The government officially made declarations requesting him to cease religious propaganda, and published ordinances to enforce the anti-foreign law.[291] But the king and the queen continued to be favorable to the missionaries. The royal bounties were so great that a rumor spread among the Europeans in the Orient that the Korean queen employed Miss Ellers as her physician at a salary of eighteen thousand dollers per annum.[292] We cannot say what might have happened had the first Protestant missionaries been other than American citizens. The nationality of the early missionaries, their cautious activities, their prompt obedience to the law, and their disinterested counsel and sympathy, won the favor of the court and the high esteem of the people. By 1890 the anti-foreign law had by common consent become a dead letter and was superseded by a general good-will. Evangelistic activites were therefore resumed and were openly carried on throughout the country.[293]

EFFECT ON CHRISTIANITY

The religion which was being transplanted to Korea began to adapt itself to its new environment. As we have noted, the Methodist and Presbyterian forms of Christianity entered a land which was supposed to be very antagonistic to the propagation of the faith. There were no other missionaries in the field, nor was there a large community of Westerners. The missionaries of the two denominations entered the country at practically the same time and settled in the same section of the city. They stood together in joy and in sorrow and shared each other's experiences. It was, there-

289 L. H Underwood, *Fifteen Years Among the Top-Knots*, pp. 31, 91.
290 M. E. North Report for 1889, p. 291.
291 W. B. Scranton's report, Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1889, p. 282.
292 *The Japan Weekly Mail* for Dec. 17, 1887, p. 597.
293 The Pyeng Yang persecution in connection with the opening of mission work there in 1894 was a local action rather than the policy of the government.

fore, natural that they should unite in many projects. The Union Board of Bible Translators, the Korean Religious Tract Society, a union service, and even united communion services were undertaken. Thus, in this formative period, the tendency to discard denominational differences was marked. The cosmopolitan character of the missionary personnel also favored the movement. Underwood, a man of old England, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church in America, was now serving under the Presbyterian board. Appenzeller, of Swiss descent, trained in a German Reformed church institution, received his theological preparation in a Methodist seminary. Allen, a Presbyterian, received his college education in a Methodist institution and served under Presbyterian missions in China and in Korea. Heron, born in England, a son of a Congregationalist minister, received his education in a Presbyterian college, while his wife was born in the South and received her education in New England. The Scrantons were the only ones from a Methodist family to serve under their church. Political opposition, loneliness in the field, and kindred training, drew the pioneers together. This denominational co-operation seemed to forecast one Christian Church in Korea.

MOTIVES OF THE EARLY CONVERTS

The motives that actuated the early converts were partly selfish. A large proportion of the first Christians were household servants, language teachers, colporteurs, and teachers in schools who received compensation or salary. In order to get students, schools were, at the beginning, necessarily charitable institutions. It was natural that the missionaries should begin their work with those who were near to them. Not many of these underlings, however, were guided by higher than mercenary motives. We do not doubt that there were some among them that deserve the epithet, "rice Christian." Others coveted the bait but avoided the hook. They were students who sought missionary teachers to learn English and Western science in order to get rank in the government service. Strange as it may seem, few were

actuated by political motives. The early radical leaders probably wished to ally themselves with the missionaries for possible political advantage. However, after their fall following the failure of the December émeute 1884 the progressives were discredited and the conservatives were in control. True and consecrated Christians were, however, not lacking. We could not expect an Augustine or a John Bunyan at this early period, but the spiritual experiences of the true Christians are as real as the *Confession* of the Bishop of Hippo or *Pilgrim's Progress.* As evidence of this, we add two confessions of early Korean Christians :

"In this world there is but one thing which makes men different from each other, and that is the teaching of Jesus. The so-called differences among men pass so quickly they are not worthy of the name. A Korean may have a yellow face, dark hair and dark eyes, while an American has a white face and possibly light hair and blue eyes, but there comes a time when alike their faces wrinkle and their hair whitens, and together they pass into the Great Beyond. Youth finds them different, but life, ere it finishes with them, the same. Life metes out to them the same joys and sorrows ; they share the same hates and loves, griefs aud pleasures, and when through with this world no ray of light guides the one or the other into the darkness. But the teachings of Jesus must work a wonderful change, for the Christian does not hate ; he loves the people - all people—and desires to do them good. He holds to a wonderful truth, and commits no evil work. A beautiful ray of light shines from heaven upon him ; he loves God, and God loves him."[293]

"A Synopsis of What I Was and What I Am"

"I had not heard of God before I came to Shanghai—For
I was born in a heathen land.
I was brought up in a heathen society.
I was taught in heathen literature.
"I continued in sin, even after having been informed of the Divine Religion—For
Sensual gratifications were preferred to sober and godly life.
I reasoned that human life being short, one must be allowed to enjoy as much as he is able.
I thought that 'a whole man does not need a physician,' i. e., I was contented with my own righteousness, as if there were any in

293 G. H. Jones, "Testimony of a Korean for Christ," *The Gospel in All Lands* for September, 1889, p. 423.

me. The more I thought I was righteous, the more debased I became.

"From the early part of 1886 to the close of the same year I found myself walking in a different path from that which I had pursued—For

I became conscious of my wickedness and of the necessity of preparing a pure soul for the future world, which I never before believed in.

I discovered the utter impossibility of living a truly sinless life by any human help. I lately read over the four principal Confucian books, and found many good proverbs. But since no one is bound to obey them, and since they—the maxims - cannot satisfy the demands of the soul, I failed to find what I sought for.

I attempted to shake off many evil practices, and in some measure succeeded in doing away with some of the leading sins which I loved like honey.

This effort was helped by the Bible, other religious books and religious lectures.

"The obstacles to my conversion—Were

The fear of persecution and mockery.

The liability of making adversaries of former friends.

The frequent attacks of doubt and other temptations.

"I desire to be baptized, for the hope—That

I may bend my time and talent, whether they be five or one, on improving my knowledge and faith in the religion so that I may, God willing, live a useful life for myself and for my brethren.

I may when night comes have no need of seeking for salvation at the gate of death, as many do.

I may thereby be acknowledged as a different man from what I was, and lesson the number of temptations into which one is liable to be led when he stands midway, undecided which way to go.

"I believe—That

God is love.

Christ is the Savior.

If the prophecies concerning this physical world have been so literally fulfilled, those concerning the future world must be as true.

(Signed) T. H. YUN" [294]

That these statements arise from sincere conviction and were not written to please the missionaries is demonstrated by the lives which their authors lived. More of the Baron Yun, the writer of the last one, will be given in subsequent chapters.

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294 *The Gospel in All Lands* for June, 1887, pp. 274, 275.

CHAPTER IV

OCCUPATION OF THE FIELD, 1891-1897

Until the close of 1890 only a few missionary bodies had entered Korea, and these had not been able to extend their activities far beyond the capital. Missionaries had, to be sure, gone on many journeys, but as yet they had not attained an effective foothold outside of Seoul. In the eight years, 1890-1897, however, several new boards entered the country, and all the missions, both old and new, established permanent residential centers in provincial cities. The time of prying open the doors had passed and the day had dawned for the extensive occupation of the land by missionary forces. In this chapter, therefore, we shall narrate the story of the occupation of the commanding centers.

In spite of the fact that the law prohibiting Christianity was, by common consent, a dead-letter,[1] in 1889, Christianity was theoretically a forbidden religion. The question naturally arises, what brought about the change? Why was it that between 1889 and 1897 it was possible for missionaries to explore the country and open new stations, and why were new societies able to establish themselves in Korea? In order to understand the situation, a review of the general conditions of the country is necessary. The émeute in December, 1884, was a turning point in the political history of the Far East. The failure of the *coup* by the Korean revolutionists, under the guidance of the Japanese meant a loss of all hope for progressive reform in Korea, and a disaster to Japanese prestige in the Orient. Japan lost the respect of the Korean people and the long-standing hatred for her was intensified. Whatever panacea Japan might have to offer for the chronic ills of the land, neither the government nor the people would give heed to it. The Chinese were left free to aggrandize themselves in the peninsula. The Peking government had previously disavowed its responsibility

1 *Surpra*, p. 154.

toward other nations whenever Korea had gotten into trouble, but now, under the direction of Li Hung Chang, China was making desperate efforts to bolster up her claims and to make good her pretensions. Li recalled von Mollendorf, an adviser of the Korean Foreign Office, on account of his machinations with the Russians at the expense of Chinese interests, and replaced him by Judge O. N. Denny, an ex-consul of the United States to China. According to the Tientsin Convention, the Chinese evacuated the Korean capital, but Li's lieutenant, Yuan Shih Kai, took up his residence in Seoul, dubbed himself "resident" in opposition to the Korean claim to independence, and exercised a controlling hand in governmental affairs through the reactionary ministers of the court. Thus the Chinese drove the Japanese from Korea and attempted to reassert Chinese suzerainty over the peninsular kingdom.

Russia made an attempt to open trade with Korea as early as 1866,[2] but her hand in Korean politics was not seen until the conclusion of the Russo-Korean treaty in 1884. The recognized foreign policy of Russia during the era of European expension was to secure suitable outlets to the sea. The newly opened port of Vladivostock was neither a commercial port nor a good naval base, for it is closed by ice for three to four months of the year. Russia had a foothold in Manchuria, but the possession of Korea by a hostile power would be a check not only to the utility of the northern port, but also to southern markets. "Whoever controlled Korea could control the Sea of Japan and the approaches to Vladivostock. Without Korea, Russia had no assurance that she could even hold what she had already obtained in Siberia, much less penetrate into Manchuria."[3] The Czar, therefore, sent to Korea one of his experienced diplomat, C. Waeber, the Russian Minister at Peking, to negotiate a treaty and to be the first resident minister to the peninsular kingdom. Waeber was an intelligent man with diplomatic skill. His

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2 *Supra*, p. 34.
3 T. Dennet, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, p. 472.

wife was a charming woman with some medical knowledge, and won the ear of the queen and her court. The Russian minister, having gained the friendship of Mollendorf, was advancing the interests of the nation, especially in securing the privilege of internal trade.[4] At this time a group of men, including some of the former pro-Chinese party who had begun to see the waning power of China, formed a Russian party. Thereupon a new power was introduced on the political stage of Korea.[5]

The American interest in the Far East grew. Following the Civil War, American trade with the Orient declined[6] because of the decrease of the American merchant marine and the increase of the competition of European nations. Following the panic of 1893, however, American trade in the Far East took a forward step. Prior to the possession of the Philippine Islands, the United States considered the Korean ports as strategic points for naval bases. Tyler Dennett makes the following interesting note: "The Secretary of Navy, in his annual report for 1884, about four months before the occupation of Port Hamilton[7] by the British naval forces, recommended that 'additional coaling and naval stations' be established at nine ports, among which he mentioned Port Hamilton as well as Honolulu. 'From which latter naval

4 T. Dennet, Americans in Eastern Asia pp. 480, 481 ; H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea*, Vol. 2, p. 244.

5 The opening of Korea to the West occasioned a new development of the long-standing contest between Russia and Great Britain over their interests in Central Asia. Russia had already annexed Usuri (*supra*, p. 34) and had brought her frontier to that of Korea. The representatives of Queen Victoria at Peking soon saw the possibility of Russian aggression on the Pacific through Korea. In order to check the southward movement of Russia, Great Britain sent her representative to Korea and made a treaty recognizing the independence of the country. But the weakness of the Korean government was hazardous to British interests in the East. As the British-Russian relationship was threatening war in 1884, the British at once sent their navy to occupy Ke-moon island or Port Hamilton, on the southern coast of Korea, in order both to provide a coaling station for their fleet and to block the passage of Russian warships in case of raid on their colonies. The British occupied the island for two years, in spite of the mild protest of the Korean government, and did not evacuate it until the Russian war cloud was cleared off the political sky.

6 T. Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, pp. 579-581.

7 For the British occupation of the island, see footnote above.

station [Port Hamilton] and the ports of Korea there should be established a regular line of steamers carrying the United States flag, connecting with the present line between San Francisco and Japan.' "[8] The missionary occupation of the Orient and the Sino-Japanese war caused an increase of American influence in the Far East. American representatives in Korea adhered to the declared policy of the recognition of the independence of Korea. On account of the friendly policy of the United States, American citizens in the peninsular kingdom had the confidence of the court and the people.

Under the control of the pro-Chinese reactionaries, the body politic of the Korean government was rotten to the core. The selling and buying of governmental positions was widely practiced, and one who purchased an official position generally reimbursed himself by extortion. Tax levies were increased by local and national governments until they reached three to four times the legal rate. Extravagance, licentiousness, and debauchery were the order of the day at court. "As the drips of the candle on the banquet table fell, did the tears of the people; and as music swelled in merry-making, the outcry of the discontented masses became loud."[9] The suffering people could no longer remain silent. In 1893, insurrection broke out in northern Korea. In the following year, the Tonk Haks[10] rose in rebellion in the South. The Tong Hak movement has both a religious and a political significance for our present study. As a religious movement, it was an expression of the syncretism of the Koreans. It was founded by Choi Chei Woo, a Korean scholar who had come in contact with Catholic missionaries.[11] Upon learning a little of the Western religion, he became what William James calls a "sick soul," and as he brooded upon religion he fell into bodily sickness. During his illness he felt he had a

8 T. Dennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 615, 616, footnote.
9 A well-known couplet in Chinese describing tyrants.
10 For further study of the sect, see R. E. Speer, *Missions and Modern History*, Vol. 2, pp. 357-392; *The Korean Repository* for 1895, 1896, 1897; E. A. McCully, *A Corn of Wheat* (the life of Rev. W. J. McKenzie of Korea), 2d ed., pp. 163-198.
11 Ch. Dallet, *Histoire de l'église de corée*, Vol. 2, p. 503.

revelation from heaven. There grew upon him the conviction that he was called to found a new religion. For the basis of this he composed the Tong Hak bible, Sung Kyeng Tai Chun, or Great Sacred Canon. In making a mosaic of scriptures, he took the five relations from Confucianism, the law of heart-cleansing from Buddhism, the use of charms and the practice of magic from animism, and last of all from Christianity he introduced monotheism and did away with images and adopted the Catholic practice of the use of candles in worship. Choi called his deity Chun Chu, the term which the Roman Catholics used for God, and named the new religion the Tong Hak, or Eastern Learning, in contradistinction to Su Hak or Western Learning, by which Roman Catholicism was in early days known in Korea. The movement spread widely in the southern provinces until 1865, when a presecution broke out against Roman Catholicism and Choi was executed on the charge that he was an adherent of that faith.

The Tong Hak movement began as a religious reform, but now, because of the oppression of corrupt officials, it took a political direction. As a political movement, Dr. Robert E. Speer declares that it "changed the history of Asia, made one nation, and unmade another, and radically influenced the development of all the great powers of the world."[12] When in 1894 it showed fresh energy, it was distinctly as a political uprising. The religious teachings, the practice of magic and the program of political reform against the corruption of officialdom attracted a large number of followers in the southern provinces. However, it must be remembered that it was a reform movement rather than a revolutionary party. In order to convince the people of their patriotic and religious motives, the Tong Haks professed their loyalty to the king and the reigning house. It was "the corruption and oppression of the officials"[13] that they were "determined to resist unto death."[14] A recent Korean author rightly attrib-

12 R. E. Speer, *op. cit.*, p. 366.
13 "A Retrospect, 1895," *The Korean Repository* for January, 1895, p. 31.
14 *Ibid., loc. cit.*

utes the cause of the uprising to religious superstition, and social inequality, and political oppression.[15] Soon after raising their standard in the southern provinces, the army of the Tong Haks pushed toward the capital. The government forces were unable to check them in their onward sweep. At last the helpless court turned to China for assistance, requesting Li Hung Chang through Yuan Shih Kai to send troops to suppress the rebellion. Li complied with the request at once by sending a force of sixteen hundred men and two warships.[16] A few days later, the Chinese, according to the Tientsin Convention, notified the Japanese government of the movement of their troops. The Chinese may have been planning, by sending the notification a few days after the departure of the force, to restore peace and then to evacuate their forces from Korea before the Japanese could interfere. But the Japanese were alert and observant, and, while the Chinese were still in the southern provinces, despatched a division of soldiers directly to the capital. Thus began the Sino-Japanese war. The course of that struggle need not be retold here, but with its end, in 1895, began a new epoch in the history of the Far East. By the treaty between Japan and China, the full and complete independence of Korea was recognized by China, and Japanese influence in Korea supplanted that of Peking. Japan was left free to exercise her power either for good or for bad. The Japanese evidently believed that the future salvation of her peninsular neighbor should be sought in domestic reforms. Japan thus assumed the task of "civilizing" Korea and sent out one of her ablest statesmen, Count Inouye, as the Japanese Minister at Seoul. Among the lieutenants that Inouye brought with him was Pak Young Hyo, a leader of the émeute of 1884 who had been in exile in Japan. Count Inouye, without considering the readiness or unreadiness of the people, at once inaugurated what is known as the Reform Era. He introduced reform measures which "were as bewildering in their novelty as they were in their number,"[17]

15 E. S. Park. *The Tragic History of Korea,* pp. 47, 48.
16 A. Stead, *Japan by Japanese,* p. 203.
17 J. H. Longford, *The Story of Korea,* pp. 333, 334.

extending from the reorganization of the government, army, and local administration, to the length of pipes, color of dress, and mode of hair-dressing. The program was ultra-radical and the enforcement was ruthless. The long-standing hatred of the Koreans for the Japanese, and the reinstatement of the former "traitor," Pak Young Hyo, by the Japanese, intensified the unpopularity of the reform program. Inouye managed to keep the situation in hand. He was, however, soon recalled and Miura was sent to replace him. Miura is described by Professor Longford as being "as fitted for dealing with the delicate task that confronted him as a rustic clown is to be entrusted with the management of a complicated machine."[18] To make the situatiou still worse, there poured into the country Japanese "adventurers, ruffians, and bullies."[19] Thus the Japanese, instead of winning the confidence and respect of the people and court, increased their hatred and distruct. The queen, after the withdrawal of the Chinese, gradually increased her influence in the government. Pak Young Hyo, who had returned to the country under the safe conduct of Inouye, had to take flight again, and Miura found that the outstanding menace to the Japanese program was the queen. The Taiwonkun, who had been living in retirement since his return from China, was still seeking an opportunity for revenge. In spite of the fact that the old bigot, like the rest of the Koreans, hated the Japanese, he allied himself with Miura in plotting against his daughter-in-law. The intrigue resulted in the assassination of the queen on October 8, 1895. We shall not discuss the controverted questions concerning the tragedy, whose "atrocious, cowardly cruelty finds few parallels in the history of the world."[20] Japan gained nothing from the cowardly deed except the hatred of the Korean people. For the second time in two decades Japan had bungled the Korean situation.

Following the exciting days of October, 1895, the fear-stricken king was for months constantly in personal danger.

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18 J. H. Longford, *op. cit.*, p. 335.
19 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
20 *Ibid., op. cit.*, p. 339.

At last, in order to find safety, on the night of February 11, 1896, he and the crown prince fled to the Russian legation, carried in a woman's chair. The Russian Minister received the royal refugees with due honor, and turned the best part of the legation over to them. The king at once reorganized the government, repudiated all acts of the Taiwonkun, and punished those connected with the assassination of the queen. The king remained in the Russian legation until February 20, 1897, when he removed into the new palace which had been recently built. Thus "the murder of the queen at the instigation of Viscount Miura, the Japanese Minister,....and the consequent flight of the king from his palace, and from the control of the Japanese, to the Russian Legation, put Japanese influence in Korea at an end, and turned Korea over to Russia as completely as though Russia had waged the war with China for the possession of the land."[21]

With these social and political changes came a changed attitude on the part of the government and people toward Christianity. A contemporary writer describes the inauguration of the new era as follows:

"A new era has dawned--the Kaiwha—the era of reform....A newly established Department of Education contemplates the inculcating of modern knowledge. Railroads are planned, and a train is in actual operation from [Seoul] to the river mouth. At the palace and in all the public offices Sunday is observed as a day of rest....Many of the higher government posts are filled by young men of noble Korean blood who have lived abroad, in several instances for more than a decade. Having experienced the blessings of enlightened governments, they have returned to become the standard-bearers of social reform in their native land. Shopkeepers, farmers, and the other substantial classes hail the prospect of an honest collection of taxes and an honest expenditure of government funds. Gradually throughout the first few months of its propagation the Kaiwha has accumulated prestige, until now public opinion is almost unified in its favor. Foreign ideas, foreigh dress, foreign improvements, foreign laws, foreign observances, foreign learning are everywhere being spoken of as good, the ancient customs of the past as foolish and unprofitable. Rumors of expected fresh innovations fill the air, not only at the seat of the government, but in far-off country

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21 R. E. Speer, *Report on the Mission in Korea of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in 1897*, P. 35.

precincts ; and such rumors elicit oftener the approval than the objections of their hearers. With these social and political changes the new era brings also a changed attitude on the part of the government toward Christianity. Of the new cabinet and their immediate supporters several are professed Christians, members of the churches in the foreign cities where they have lived. Many others have experienced the benefits of religious freedom. Both king and queen have heard during the past winter, and willingly, from medical missionaries in attendance upon them, something of the truth of salvation. Officials in high position request, read, and discuss copies of the New Testament and other religious books .... This interest in Christianity in high quarters may be taken as an evidence of that on lower social planes. This Spring, as never before, the people flock to hear preaching of the Gospel. Chapels are crowded. The throng surrounds windows and doors to the full radius of the speaker's voice. Street preaching draws larger groups than ever before. Hearers at dispensaries give closer attention than usual. In country districts a wider circle and a higher social stratum are reached. Men who have hitherto disdained the missionary now seek his attention, and this not by ones and twos, but everywhere in numbers."[22]

During the closing years of the nineteenth century the religious interest in America was undergoing a change.[23] Frontier revivalism was gradually passing. Professor Mode says: "The explanation of this change is not far to seek. Ministerial forces have become more adequate to the demands of the religious leadership. The cultural cravings of the ministry have made itineracy increasingly distasteful. More elaborate academic training has given preachers an inclination and aptitude for the reasoned discourse rather than for the emotional appeal. The wider range of human interests, with community and national currents of thinking, have given a weirdness and unreality to appeals that once were compelling. The latent fear of the frontiersman so easily played upon by the 'hell-fire damnation' preacher has given way before the complacency of the comfortable materialist."[24] City conventions and college student conferences were taking the place of the seasonal revivals. The Moody movement was largely a convention type, which seemed to meet the needs of

22 C. C. Vinton, "The Open Door of Korea," *The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S., Vol. 8, No. 9 (September, 1895), pp. 663, 664.
23 F. G. Beardsley, *A History of American Revivals*, p. 307.
24 P. G. Mode, *The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity*, p. 57.

the rising urban population and of the increasing number of college students. The growth of interest in religion among students during the period was phenomenal. The rise of the Student Young Men's Christian Association in America, and the British College Christian Union in the British Isles, and the similar student movements in the European continent and Asiatic countries, resulted, in 1895, in the organization of the World's Student Christian Federation. As Dr. John R. Mott says, these students recognized the force of Archbishop Whately's words: "If our religion is not true, we ought to change it; if it is true, we are bound to propagate what we believe to be the truth."[25] Another religious movement closely connected with college student activities was the organization of denominational young people's societies. Besides the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, which we have already mentioned, the Epworth League, St. Andrew's Cross, the Baptist Young People's Union of America, the Westminster League, and the Lutheran League, arose, and among their many activities took an interest in missionary work. These religious changes, together with the great prosperity of the United States and Canada, led to a rapid growth of Protestant foreign missionary activity.

EXPLORATION OF THE FIELD

In 1890 the Rev. F. F. Ellinwood, a secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., who was then directing the mission policy in Korea, wrote: "We believe the mistake has been made in some fields of over-centralization. We want to inaugurate a new policy in Korea, that of diffusion and the widespread preaching of the Gospel. We [will] locate stations throughout the entire field."[26] The Methodist mission followed a similar policy,[27]

25 J. R. Mott, "The World Wide Student Movement," *Christendom Anno Domini MDCCCCI.* Vol. 2, p. 408, editor's note.

26 W. M. Baird, "Our Mission in Korea," *Woman and Missions,* Vol. 3, No. 2, (February, 1927), p. 403.

27 In 1892 the superintendent of the Northern Methodist Mission exhorted his fellow workers to scatter as widely as the kingdom reached. Then he continued: "If we were there we might be harvesting, not on rationalistic but revivalistic principles, urging them to decision.... We need to stop sitting in debate of measures

and their first step toward the occupation of the field was the general exploration and survey of the land. Dr. Underwood, speaking of the beginning of itinerating work, says: "This (the invitation from Sorai Christians) and the demands that began to come in from other points in the interior, called for the beginnings of our itinerating work."[28] "In the fall of 1887," continues the pioneer misionsary, "the first itinerating trip was taken, and reached from Seoul through Songdo, Sorai, and Pyeng Yang to Euiju on the Chinese border."[29] During the trip, Underwood baptized "over twenty adults" including seven at Sorai.[30] In the spring of the following year Underwood started a second trip to the north with Appenzeller of the Methodist mission. As we have mentioned above,[31] they travelled for about two weeks and had reached Pyeng Yang when they were recalled to Seoul on account of the interdict. In the spring of 1889, Mr. and Mrs. Underwood started their wedding trip through the interior, visiting Songdo, Sorai, Pyeng Yang, Kangkei, Euiju, and counties along the Yalu river. A description of the journey has been published from the eloquent pen of Mrs. Underwood.[32] Thus before 1890 the northwestern provinces had been well explored by the pioneers. The exploration of the southeastern provinces was first undertaken by the Methodists. Mr. Appenzeller and Mr. G. H. Jones in August, 1888, made a trip of three hundred and eighty miles in fifteen days, visiting Wonju, the capital of Kang Won Province, then travelling southward through Taiku and finally reaching Fusan.[33]

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and methods, and go out rather and work them out by experience. More work for the critic is the best solution of his trouble usually."—Northern Methodist Report for 1892, p. 284. Dr. C. F. Reid, the founder of the Southern Methodist Mission in Korea, reported that his mission policy in Korea was blocking out the country into territories and placing missionaries in the center of these districts to teach the people.—M. E. South Report for 1897, p. 29.

28 H. G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, p. 108.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 137.
30 *Ibid.*, p. 137. Cf. *The Church at Home and Abroad* for February, 1888, p. 173.
31 *Supra*, p. 146.
32 L. H. Underwood, *Fifteen Years Among the Top-Knots*, pp. 34-89.
33 G. H. Jones, "Pioneering in Korea" *The Gospel in All Lands* for November, 1889, pp. 526-27.

Another daring exploratory trip is what Dr. Gale described as "The Yalu and Beyond."[34] This extensive trip of fourteen hundred miles from Seoul to Mukden and thence through Manchuria and Ham Kyeng Province to Seoul was undertaken by S. A. Moffett and J. S. Gale in the spring of 1891. The purpose of the trip, as stated by Mr. Moffett, "was to preach the gospel, study the language, country, and people, and to look after the work which had already been done in Euiju and the Korean valleys, just across the Chinese border."[35] They stopped at Pyeng Yang and Euiju. From Euiju, they went to Mukden, where they met the pioneer missionary to the Koreans in Manchuria, the Rev. John Ross, and stayed with him and his associates for four days and learned in detail of their work for Koreans. Then they traveled eastward from the Manchurian capital, passing through the Korean valleys, and entered Korea through the northeastern frontier. They made a brief stop at Ham Heung, the capital of Ham Kyeng Province, whence they returned to Seoul. They had left Seoul in February and returned in the middle of May, having travelled seven hundred miles on foot, four hundred miles in cart, and three hundred on horseback. Speaking of the results of the trip, Dr. Moffett says: "In the three months' time we have not only improved considerably in our knowledge of the language, but have also sowed the gospel seed among thousands....We met no ill-treatment and, aside from a natural suspicion of foreigners, found nothing to oppose the teaching of the gospel."[36] The northeast was afterwards thoroughly explored by W. L. Swallen, J. S. Gale, William McGill, and still later by Canadian Presbyterian missionaries.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, North, had started work on the northern border of Chung Chyong Province, and the Ella Thing Memorial Mission in the interior of the province, but the exploration of the southwestern provinces

34 J. S. Gale, *Korean Sketches*, pp. 72-103.
35 S. A. Moffett, "Evangelistic Tour in the North of Korea," *The Church at Home and Abroad* for October, 1891, pp. 329-331.
36 S. A. Moffett, "Evangelistic Tour in the North of Korea," *The Church at Home and Abroad* for October, 1891, pp. 329-331.

was not begun until 1892, when it was undertaken by the Southern Presbyterians. After Christmas, 1892, Messrs. Moffett and Reynolds made a trip as far south as Kongju and in the early fall of 1893 Messrs. Junkin and Tate made a trip as far as Chunju, spending two weeks in that city. In 1894, Reynolds and Drew undertook an extensive journey through north and south Chun-la. Thus, by the eve of the Sino-Japanese war, the whole country had been explored by missionaries.

ITINERATION

These itinerating trips were started for the purpose of exploring the field, but the paucity of the missionary force and the rapid increase of Christian communities demanded its continuation. In the pioneer days, missionaries had to secure special passports from the government in order to travel in the interior. These passports were government orders to officials to give the missionaries in lodging, money exchange, and protection. They often served the purposes for which they were issued, but in order to insure protection the missionaries carried guns and revolvers,[37] and at times employed Korean soldiers to accompany them.[38] The one or two soldiers who composed the guard might not give much protection, but they added to the dignity of the travellers and aided in winning the respect of the people. They also gave assurance to those who might have been frightened, had the strangers come alone. Besides these protective measures, the missionary was often accompanied by his teacher or by a guide who was thoroughly familiar with the route. As to equipment for the journey, it was usual to take canned food, bedding, medicine, Christian literature, and money. Carrying money was a great problem in the early days, for it required a special pony to carry the thousands of Korean cash that were the only means of exchange. Thus when a missionary undertook a journey, he was accompanied by quite a caval-

37 *The Church at Home and Abroad* for August, 1893, p. 106, illustration.

38 L. H. Underwood, *Fifteen Years Among the Top-Knots*. pp. 51, 66: J. S. Gale, *Korean Sketches*, p. 19.

cade. At the noon and evening halting places the missionaries opened their packs, addressed the crowd that gathered around them, and offered their medicine and books for sale. When churches were organized, the itinerating missionaries generally went directly to the churches, where they held their meetings and administered religious rites to those who were accepted. The nature of itineracy changed in subsequent years, but it still forms an important feature of missionary work in Korea.[39]

PIONEERS IN NORTHERN KOREA

During the time of the occupation of the field, we have a few outstanding Christian leaders whose biographies should be of interest.

The Reverend Samuel Addison Moffett, D.D., the pioneer missionary to Northern Korea under the Presbyterian mission, was born on January 25, 1864, at Madison, Indiana. He was graduated from Hanover College, Hanover, Indiana, and received his theological training at McCormick Theological Seminary. Moffett arrived in Korea on January 25, 1890. While he was learning the language, he was made the head of the orphanage. The whole of northern Korea was soon assigned to him as a field of labor. After six months' study of the language, in August, 1890, he made an exploratory trip to the north and stayed for a fortnight at Pyeng Yang, where he interested a few men in his faith. In the following February, Moffett made a long journey to the Yalu and beyond. In the fall of 1891, he made his second trip to Euiju and bought property on which to start a mission. No decision was yet reached as to whether he should settle at Euiju or at Pyeng Yang. It was in 1892, when the latter place was chosen as the strategic point for the mission station, that he brought up one of his Euiju converts, Han Syuk Chin, to Seoul, and, giving him elementary instruction in Christianity, located him at Pyeng Yang. Han bought property on West Gate Street and opened the station. In 1893, Moffett, together with Graham Lee, be-

39 In the following section, we shall make a comparison with the work of itinerant missionaries and circuit riders in frontier days in America.

came the founder of the Presbyterian Church among the stern energetic Koreans of the northern provinces. Moffett served as the pastor of the central church at Pyeng Yang from its foundation in 1893 to 1907, when it was turned over to one of the first Korean ordained ministers. Moffett was the president of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary and was the president of the Union Christian College from 1918 to 1927. He was the moderator of the first presbytery in Korea. Dr. Moffett still continues his "work of faith and labor of love and patience of hope."[40]

The missionary pioneer of the Methodist church to northern Korea was Reverend William James Hall, M. D. Dr. Hall was born near Glen Buell, Leed, Ontario, Canada, January, 1860. He was converted in 1874 and became a member of the Methodist church. Young Hall prepared for college at Athens, Ontario, and received his training at the medical school of Queens College, Kingston, and Bellevue Hospital Medical College, New York, from which latter institution he was graduated in 1889. After his graduation he engaged in mission work in the Roosevelt Street Medical Mission, New York City. In September, 1891, Dr. Hall was appointed by the Methodist Episcopal church as a missionary to Korea and arrived on the field in December, 1891. In March of the following year, accompanied by G. H. Jones, he made his first trip to the interior. In the following autumn he was appointed to the Pyeng Yang circuit, where he labored for over two years. He purchased property at the West Gate Street through his helper, but when the transaction became known, persecution at once arose.[41] During the battle between the Chinese and the Japanese at Pyeng Yang, he lived at Seoul. Dr. Hall and Dr. Moffett returned to the city three weeks after the battle and found it full of the decaying bodies, dead horses, and cattle. Dr. Hall stayed for a mouth comforting the war-torn people and gathering again his handful of converts. But the exposure

40 "Honor to Whom Honor is Due, ' *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. XI, No. 4 (April, 1915), p. 99.

41 For a fuller description of the persecution, see *infra*, pp. 277, 278.

and work in unhealthy surroundings so told on him that he was obliged to return to Seoul. He was suffering from malaria, and it was supposed that he contracted typhus on the Japanese transport on which he embarked for Chemulpo. Although he reached Seoul, Dr. Hall passed away on November 24, 1895. Dr. Moffett says: "He was man of great faith, great love, and great humility....In the community Dr. Hall was known as a thoroughly sincere, earnest Christian, whose love for all led him to be continually serving others. He has been a blessing to [his] fellow-workers, a blessing to the Koreans, and an influence in the establishment of the church in Korea."[42]

In passing, we must add a note on the life and work of Mrs. Rosetta Sherwood Hall, M. D. She came to Korea as a medical missionary in 1890, after having graduated from the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia. In June, 1892, she was married to Dr. W. J. Hall and opened the work in Pyeng Yang. After the death of her husband, she retu rned to her home in New York and stayed there until 1897, when she returned to Korea with her children, Sherwood and Edith Margaret. Little Edith Margaret soon died, and in her memory Mrs. Hall built a small dispensary for women and children at Pyeng Yang. Mrs. Hall's service was not limited to her medical and evangelistic efforts: perhaps her greatest contribution was her work for the blind and deaf. In this philanthropy she was the pioneer in Korea, introducing the New York point system and other divices. Mrs. Hall rightly deserves the title, "An Apostle of Humanity."[43]

NEW SOCIETIES

A. The Church of England

In addition to the two societies which had been in Korea before 1890, several others now entered the country. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, an enterprise of the Church of England, entered Korea in 1890.

42 *The Life of Rev. William James Hall, M.D.* Edited by Mrs. Rosetta Sherwood Hall, pp. 306, 307.

43 E. W. Koons, "Dr. Rosetta S. Hall's Sixty-First Birthday," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 23, No. 1, (January, 1927), p. 20.

The Society was founded for the threefold object of (1) providing a maintenance for an orthodox clergy in the plantations, colonies, and factories of Great Britain beyond the seas, for the instruction of the king's loving subjects in the Christian religion: (2) making such other provision as may be necessary for the propagation of the Gospel in those parts: and (3) receiving, managing, and disposing of charity of His Majesty's subjects for those purposes."[44] As the above statement stands, the Society was primarily designed for the welfare and religious care of the colonists, but the interpretation of the purpose includes "the conversion of the natives."[45] The work of the Society in Asia may be classed as a mission to non-Christians. By its constitution the Society is as broad as the Church of England, but in practice it has represented mainly the high church or ritualistic party. The Society has carried on all its missions under the direct superintendency of the diocesan bishops in the various fields. In its relationship with other Protestant mission agencies it is not particularly friendly, but inclines toward the Roman Catholics.

In regard to the origin of the work of the Anglican Mission, we can do no better than to quote the well-written history of the Society by C. F. Pascoe.

"The idea of an Anglian Mission to Corea was originated in 1880 by the Rev. A. C. Shaw, one of the pioneers and founders of the Society's Mission in Japan. In view of the opening of Corea for foreign intercourse, Mr. (now Archdeacon) Shaw felt that the Society should be ready to take the lead in Missionary work there by sending out a Bishop with Clergy, and in order to prepare the way he sent one of his Japanese catechists to Corea in 1880 to study the language, his native flock in Tokio contributing to his support. The idea was considered premature at the time, but Mr. Shaw continued to urge it, and when in 1884 a treaty was being negotiated between England and Corea the three English Bishops in China seized the opportunity to make an identical proposal. The provision in the treaty that British subjects shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion involved more discussion than many of the commercial privileges, as it had to contend with 'that

44 C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* (An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1900), Vol. 1, p. 7.

45 *Ibid., lot. cit.*

traditional hostility to Christianity' which until recently 'had been manifested in...fiercest form of persecution.' But though the treaty did not actually sanction 'Missionary enterprise' it was thought that by the time Missionaries had become acquainted with the language and the Government and people of Corea, opposition might be overcome.... Immediately after the treaties were made it was understood that the Government would welcome medical men and teachers, the former to establish hospitals, the latter to instruct the people in Western languages —especially English—and in other subjects....In 1887 Bishop Scott (of North China) and Bickersteth (of Japan) visited Corea, and appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury to take steps to insure the sending of a mission from the church at home without delay. The matter was again brought before the Society...and now (1888) offered the Bishop of North China twenty-five hundred pounds for a mission. Happily it was found possible to carry out the original idea of entering on the mission 'in the fullest form,' and under Royal Mandate the Rev. C. J. Corfe, whose service as a Naval Chaplain had received recognition in the highest quarters, was on All Saints' Day 1889 consecrated in Westminster Abbey first Missionary Bishop of Corea. The Society now (1889-90) guaranteed an annual grant of fifteen hundred pounds, but from the first 'the seal of Apostolic poverty' was stamped upon the mission: the Bishop and his companions, while making no professions and taking no vows of poverty, arranged to live a common life on a small common fund. On his way to Corea the Bishop visited, on behalf of the Mission, nine towns in the United States, eight in Canada, and three in Japan, everywhere meeting with cordial sympathy. In diocese of New Westminster he received the offer of the services of the Rev. R. Small... and of Peake. The other members of the Mission consisted of Drs. Wiles and Landis, the Revs. M. N. Trollope and L. O. Warner, and Messrs. J. H. Pownall and M. W. Davies. The Bishop reached Chemulpo on the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels 1890, and Seoul on the next day (September 30), Dr. Wiles having preceded him by three weeks. No time was lost in opening medical work amongst both natives and Europeans, and in providing religious ministrations for the latter at Seoul and Chemulpo, and in setting up at Seoul a mission press—given by Navy Chaplains. Premises were acquired at both places, provision being made for eight men living together at Seoul in a building which was named 'The House of Resurrection' because work in the city was begun on Easter Day, 1891."[46]

B. The Presbyterian Church of Victoria, Australia

The next Protestant missionaries to enter Korea were also from the British Empire, being representatives of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, Australia. The first of these,

46 C. F. Pascoe, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 713, 714.

Rev. J. Henry Davies and his sister, Miss M. T. Davies, arrived in Korea in October, 1889.

The Foreign Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria was organized in 1860, and carried on missionary labor among the aborigines of Australia, the Chinese immigrants, and the people of the New Hebrides. The Presbyterian Church in Australia nominally controls all the foreign missions work of the church, but the church organization of each state carries on its own missions, drawing financial support from its own constituency. The Presbyterian Church in the State of Victoria is a small communion of about 35,000,[47] but it has been noted for its missionary zeal, which was inspired by their first missionary to the New Hebrides, John G. Paton. The extension of their work into Korea was due to J. H. Davies.

J. Henry Davies was born in Melbourne, Victoria, in 1857, and was graduated from Melbourne University, from which he also won the degree of Master of Arts. Mr. Davies began the study of law but discontinued it to study theology, at Edinburgh, Scotland.[48] He became deeply committed to missions and went to India, where his sister was a missionary. After eighteen months among the Telegus, ill-health compelled him to return to Australia, where he founded a grammar school in the suburbs of Melbourne. During this time, he read a missionary appeal from Korea and began to take interest in the Korean people.[49] However, his church had then no thought of sending missionaries to that country. In 1888 the young men and women of the Victoria Church organized themselves into the Presbyterian Fellowship Union for Bible Study. The Union at his home church at Toorack, Melbourne, and the other associations, united to support him as the first Australian missionary to the peninsular kingdom. Mr. Davies and his sister reached Korea in October, 1889, and were cordially welcomed by the American missionaries.

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47 H. L. Paton, "The Home Base," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (February, 1921), p. 23.

48 D. L. Gifford, "Two Shining Marks," *The Church at Home and Abroad* for October, 1890, p. 354.

49 *Supra*, pp. 79, 80.

During his five months' stay at Seoul, Mr. Davies won the friendship of his fellows. Dr. Underwood speaks of him as an "enthusiastic, highly gifted, and holy man, one of the most invaluable missionaries who ever came to Korea."[50]

Seoul was already occupied by other missions, and other missionaries had already made exploratory trips into northern Korea. Mr. Davies started on a trip to the south, as a pioneer, with the intention of opening a base for operations there, probably at Fusan. He left his sister in Seoul and began the trip accompanied by his language teacher and a servant. He was equipped with Chinese Bibles and other Christian literature and some quinine to sell. It was an overland trip of three hundred miles from Seoul to Fusan through the Chung Chyong and Kyeng Sang provinces. He had all but reached his destination when he was forced to send a note to J. S. Gale, who was then residing at that port, requesting him to "Come at once."[51] He was taken to Mr. Gale's house, but he proved to have contracted smallpox and pneumonia, and died on April 15, 1890.

Davies' death increased the interest of the whole Australian Church in Korea. The Presbyterian Women's Union, formed in 1890, joined the Fellowship Union in continuing the enterprise. The object of the Women's Union of Victoria, as stated in the rules of the organization, is for "the glory of God and the salvation of souls in promoting the evangelization and Christian education of women in Australia and in foreign lands. For this purpose it shall train and employ missionaries and teachers, raise funds, form auxiliaries, and circulate information." In the first year of its history the Women's Union, together with the Fellowship Union, sent out Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Mackay, Misses B. Manzie, M. Fawcett and Jean Perry. These Missionaries settled at Choryang, Fusan.

C. The Presbyterian Church in the United States

The foreign missionary work of the Presbyterian Church in the United States was one until in 1861, the Southern Presbyterian Church was organized at the time of the Civil

50 H. G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, p 140.
51 J. S. Gale, *Korean Sketches*, pp. 249, 250.

War. The official title of the Southern church is The Presbyterian Church in the United States. The missionary activity of this church is directed by the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions, and its avowed aim is the "Dissemination and establishment of Christianity."[52] There were many ladies' societies in individual churches, but the present Woman's Auxiliary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States was not organized until 1912. This last Organization is "to assist the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. in foreign and home missions, in education, in ministerial relief, in and publication Sunday school work."[53] When, in 1892, these bodies undertook work in Korea, they were already represented in China, Italy, Brazil, Mexico, Cuba, Greece, and Japan.

The Reverend J. Fairman Preston, of Soon Chun, Korea, speaks of Dr. H. G. Underwood as "the father"[54] of the Korea Mission of the Southern Presbyterian Church, and Dr. Underwood rightly deserves the honor. In September, 1891, Mr. Underwood, who was then in America on furlough, visited McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, and spoke to the students in the interest of missionary service in Korea. Mr. L. B. Tate, a student from the South, was stirred by the address and when the Inter-Seminary Alliance met for its annual convention at Nashville, in October of the same year, Mr. Underwood and Mr. T. H. Yun, a young Korean nobleman, who was then a student at Vanderbilt University, addressed the gathering. L. B. Tate, Cameron Johnson,[55] and W. D. Reynolds, resolved to go to Korea as missionaries. W. M. Junkin later joined the group. These four offered themselves to the Executive Committee of foreign Missions of the Southern Presbyterian Church, but the committee was obliged to inform them that "the way is not clear to found a new mission."[56] The quartet then resolved to carry the mat-

52 H. P. Beach and C. H. Fahs, *World Missionary Atlas*, p. 25.
53 *Ibid,, loc. cit.*
54 J. F. Preston, "Editorials," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 17, No. 11 (November, 1921), p. 222.
55 Johnson came to Korea as an independent missionary ; but after a year or two was forced, by exigencies of support, to teach in Japan.
56 W. D. Reynolds, "Genesis of the Southern Presbyterian Mission," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (January, 1914), p. 17.

ter to the churches. They made arrangements for a tour of the leading cities of Virginia and North Carolina by Mr. Underwood, and published articles on Korea in church papers. At last Mr. John T. Underwood, of New York, made a contribution of twenty-five hundred dollars toward the expense of opening the mission. Thereupon the Committee decided to venture on the undertaking, and in February, 1892, appointed seven pioneer missionaries, the Rev. L. B. Tate and his sister, Miss Mattie S. Tate, Miss Linnie Davis, and the Revs. W. D. Reynolds and W. M. Junkin with their wives. The first members of the party arrived at Seoul on October 18, while others tarried a little in Japan, coming to the Korean capital on November 3, 1892. They settled in Seoul for the time being, while they learned the language and made plans for the further execution of their mission.

D. Independent Missions

While major missions were entering the country, lesser societies and independent missionaries were also beginning to appear. The Toronto University Young Men's Christian Association Mission sent Mr. J. S. Gale as its representative to Korea. Mr. Gale landed on December 15, 1889, and stayed in Seoul until March, 1890, when he made his first inland journey. Mr. Gale left the capital to settle at Haiju, the capital of Whanghai Proivnce,[57] but failing to secure property in that city, he remained there only a fortnight and traveled on to Sorai, where he remained for three months. He then returned to Seoul, whence he went to Fusan. He labored there until the spring of 1892, when he severed his relationship with the Toronto University Y. M. C. A. Mission, and began to serve under the Northern Presbyterian Board, at the same time leaving Fusan. While Mr. Gale was yet at Fusan, the Toronto University Medical Students' Y. M. C. A. sent out one of their number, Dr. R. A. Hardie, and his wife, as missionaries to Korea, and agreed to support them "for a period of

57 J. S. Gale, *Korean Sketches*, p. 17.

at least eight years."[58] Dr. Hardie was to settle at Fusan and cooperate with Mr. Gale. However, when Mr. Gale left the port, Dr. Hardie went to Seoul and assisted his former teacher and compatriot, Dr. O. R. Avison, in the government hospital. When Mr. Gale went to Wonsan to open the station for the Northern Presbyterian Mission, Dr. Hardie settled at Wonsan and served as a medical missionary until 1898, when he connected himself with the Southern Methodist Mission. With this the Toronto Uhiversity Mission in Korea terminated.

Aside from the Toronto University Y. M. C. A. Mission, there came from Canada an independent missionary, Mr. Malcolm C. Fenwick.[59] Mr. Fenwick had no regular school education or any theological training, but he had had a marked religious experience and had become conscious of a "call" to go to Korea. He could not distinguish Korea from Corsica, but his desire to go there was intensified in 1889 he heard a rumor to the effect that Mrs. J. W. Heron had been imprisoned in a Korean jail and was condemned to be hanged "for preaching of the Gospel."[60] Through an address by Mr. Robert P. Wilder, he was convinced that he "could at least be a battered rusty can and carry the life-giving water,"[61] whereupon he resolved to go. Mr. Fenwick came to the field toward the end of 1889. He resided in Seoul for a time and undertook to study the language, but his ten months' effort proved a failure. He soon left Seoul and went to Sorai to live among the people with the hope of acquiring the language. He was gladly received by the handful of Christians and ministered to them during his stay. After two months he returned to Seoul for a brief period, but in the spring of 1891 went back to Sorai and bought a Korean house and lot, where he lived and raised vegetables. In 1893 he returned to America. During his stay in America, with the

58 *The Missionary Review of the World,* N. S., Vol. 3, No. 11 (November, 1890), p. 878.

59 For his life and work in Korea, see M. C. Fenwick, *The Church of Christ in Corea.*

60 *Ibid.,* p. 9 ; F. F. Ellinwood, "Alleged Martydom in Korea," *The Church at Home and Abroad* for September, 1889, p. 219.

61 F. C. Fenwick, *op. cit.,* p. 14.

co-operation of his friends, he organized what is known as the Corean Itinerant Mission, on principles somewhat similar to those of the China Inland Mission.[62] In 1886, Fenwick returned to Korea as the director of the mission. At this time another independent group of missionaries, members of the Baptist Church, who had started work in Kongju in Chung Chong Province, finding it impossible to maintain their work, turned over their labor to the Corean Itinerant Mission. Mr. Fenwick, however, did not settle in the South, but established his home at Wonsan where he acquired a large property. Mr. Fenwick has written "an autobiographical missionary record,"[63] frankly confessing his failure as a missionary, and advancing his missionary method, that "the gospel can best be taught to foreign people by picked native converts."[64]

We have already noted the sacrifice of a very promising life, that of the Rev. J. H. Henry Davies, due to the sudden change in the mode of living in a strange country. We are about to record a similarly tragic end of the "finest specimen of a missionary ever seen in Korea,"[65] the Rev. William John McKenzie. Mckenzie was born July 15, 1861, in the island of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. He was educated at Dalhousie College, graduating in Arts in 1888, and at the Presbyterian College, Halifax, from which in 1891 he received his theological degree. While he was a theological student, he served as a missionary in Labrador. While there he read a book on Korea and remarked: "Get there (Korea) some way, and grow into their life by some trade or labor, and also then stir up the church, if need be, for assistance."[66] He was deeply impressed with the missionary methods and self-forgetfulness of the Moravians with whom he came in contact in Labrador. On leaving school, he first accepted a call to a home pastorate in the district of Stewiacke, but he soon re-

62 For the principles of the Mission, see Appendix.
63 M. C. Fenwick, *op. cit.*, p. v.
64 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
65 E. A. McCully, *A Corn of Wheat* (The Life of Rev. W. J. McKenzie of Korea), 2d ed., p. 233.
66 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

signed and took charge of a mission near Halifax. During this time he studied medicine. Then, offering himself and all he had (one hundred dollars), he asked the Canadian Presbyterian Church to send him to Korea. The Mission board, however, could not then see its way clear to open a new mission. Mr. McKenzie visited churches in Eastern Canada and spoke on Korea, telling of his determination to go to that land. As a result of his efforts, enough money soon came in to take him to Korea and maintain him there for a year. Thus in October, 1893, he left Canada, going out not under the board but independently.[67]

McKenzie reached Korea in the middle of the following December. Early in the new year he left Seoul for Sorai, where he arrived in February. There he was away from foreigners, isolated in the hope that he would learn the language and people sooner than otherwise. He changed his mode of living, adopting that of the Koreans. Toward the end of April he returned to Seoul, to receive and send mail. He walked the whole journey, covering the distance in a week. In spite of the war cloud between Japan and China and the advice of the British authorities at Seoul, he returned to Sorai. He was the pastor of the little church and explored the neighboring towns. During the Tong Hak disturbances preceding and following the Sino-Japanese war McKenzie received threats on his life, for he was suspected of being a Japanese agent. However, his broad sympathy and his fair dealing and Christian living won the confidence of the people, even of the Tong Haks. In order to distinguish the Christian Church from other shrines, McKenzie made a flag emblazoned with St. George's cross and hoisted it over the church building. By this sign the Christian Church was later known throughout Northern Korea. He was a man of strong deter-

67 A quotation from his journal will be of interest : "Stepping on board ship, I did not wish it otherwise, leaving my native continent. Have no regret, nor do I feel badly about it....It is no sacrifice ; would be to stay. Henceforth may Korea be the land of my adoption. May I live and work there many a year for the glory of God, and may my dust mingle with theirs till the great trumpet shall sound, when Death shall be swallowed up in life."—E. A. McCully, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

mination, as was shown in his giving to the Koreans a Christmas box of American delicacies, lest his eating it would spoil his appetite for Korean food.[68] During his stay at Sorai he made trips to Seoul for mail and other necessities, until his last visit in the middle of May, 1895. During the summer he had sunstroke and fever which caused insanity.[69] and on July 23, 1895, he shot himself. His last entry made in his diary, in almost illegible writing, reads: "Resolved yesterday to go to Seoul by boat. Wired one to come to-morrow; getting sleepless. Keep people from coming in to-day; will not go out, too weak. Find in p. m. that body is cold, as need so much clothing; hot water bottle, sweat; easier after. Hope it is not death, for sake of Korea and the many will say it was my manner of living like Koreans. It was imprudence, on the part of myself, traveling under hot sun and sitting out at night till cold."[70] "For the sake of Korea" he came to Korea and gave his life.

E. The Ella Thing Memorial Mission

We have already alluded to the Baptist mission in Korea. This mission had its origin in the Clarendon Street Baptist Church, Boston, over which Dr. A. J. Gordon was pastor for many years. As his son and biographer tells, the Clarendon Street Church was missionary to the core.[71] Mr. S. B. Thing, a deacon in the church, "a devoted Christian and successful business man,"[72] established in memory of his only daughter the Ella Thing Memorial Mission. In 1895 this mission dispatched as its first missionaries the Rev. E. C. Pauling and his wife, and Miss Amanda Gardeline. The Rev. and Mrs.

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68 L. H. Uuderwood, *Fifteen Years Among the Top-Knots*, pp. 123, 124.

69 "About the first duty as a doctor I was called upon to perform was to investigate the suicide of Mr. McKenzie who was possessed of the erroneous idea of the appropriateness of isolation, exile, Korean food and so forth. He was living alone up in Sorai. Notwithstanding that when he shot himself he was out of his head from fever, the evidence still shows that he was a victim to the isolation exile theory."—J. H. Wells, "Medical Impressions," *The Korean Repository* for May, 1896, p. 238.

70 E. A. McCully, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

71 E. B. Gordon, *Adoniram Judson Gordon*, pp. 222-274.

72 *The Korean Repository* for July, 1896, p. 299.

F. W. Steadman and Miss Arma Ellmer soon followed. These missionaries settled in Seoul for the time being and carried on street preaching.[73] Since other missions were already established there, and since there were unoccupied places inland, this handful of missionaries settled in Chung Chyong province, centering about Kongju. No missionary agencies previously had penetrated any but the northern portions of the province. Mr. Steadman, describing their work, says: "We went from town to town, from city to city, telling the 'old, old story' to those who had never heard it before. The natives, who are mild and patient as a rule, were friendly and our work was most enjoyable."[74] Mr. and Mrs. Pauling soon resigned and returned to America. Mr. Steadman stayed one more year and labored in two stations. The work was evidently increasing, for we read in the report of the Southern Presbyterian missionaries that the Presbyterian "mission has virtually surrendered one of... [their] two provinces, Chung Chyong, to... [their] Baptist brethren for lack of reinforcement."[75] As is the case with many independent missions, however, the financial support was insufficient to warrant the continuation of the work. In 1900, Mr. Steadman and his family returned to America, leaving "twenty-three classes of baptized believers started in different places,"[76] under the charge of a Korean. Mr. Steadman appealed to his church to send him back. "From time to time the question of entering Korea has been considered by the [American Baptist Missionary] Union, but inadequacy of funds has made this seem inadvisable."[77] When Steadman's appeal came to the Missionary Union, the Committee discussed the matter,[78] but the result was that the Union sent Mr. Steadman to Japan to serve in its mission there. Thus the Ella Thing Memorial Mission in Korea came to an end, while its work was turned

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73 D. L. Gilford, *Every Day Life in Korea*, pp. 152, 153.
74 F. W. Steadman, "Korea—Her People and Mission," *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Vol. 81, No. 10 (October, 1901), p. 674.
75 Annual Report of the Executive Committee of Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States for 1897, p. 65.
76 F. W. Steadman, *op. cit., loc cit.*
77 The Baptist Missionary Magazine for March, 1904, p. 102.
78 *Ibid.*, for April, 1904, pp. 132, 133.

over to Mr. Fenwick. In 1905, Mr. Steadman paid a visit to his converts. He found that there were about two hundred professing Christians in the district and a self-supporting church.[79] This work was under the charge of a Korean, who was directed by Mr. Fenwick from Wonsan, three hundred miles away.

F. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South

The Korea Mission of the Southern Methodist Church was, at its beginning, an appointment of the Shanghai District of the China Mission Conference. Some of the Southern Methodist missionaries who had settled in Central China were not able to endure the climate of the lower Yangtze Valley. In February, 1894, Dr. C. F. Reid, a member of the China Mission, was therefore instructed to proceed to North China with a view of opening work there. After prospecting the field he was led to doubt the advisability of opening work in territories which had already been occupied by other missionary bodies. "In the meantime," says Bishop E. A. Hendrix, "attention was directed to Korea by the earnest invitation of Mr. Yun,[80] of our church, and formerly a teacher

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79 *Ibid., loc. cit.;* F. W. Steadman, "Our Work in Korea," *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Vol. 85, No. 10 (October, 1905), p. 388.

80 It may not be altogether superfluous to add a biographical note of this well-known Christian in Korea, Baron Tchi Ho Yun, LL. D. Mr. Yun was born of a noble house. In 1882, at the age of fifteen, he was sent with several others to Japan as a student by order of the king of Korea. He soon mastered the Japanese language and started to learn English. He made such progress in English that in 1884 he returned to Korea, with the first American Minister to Korea, General Lucius H. Foote, as a sort of interpreter. Following the émeute in December, 1884, Minister Foote returned to America and Mr. Yun felt that his safety should be sought in a quiet exile. He went to Shanghai with General Foote and entered the Anglo-Chinese College there, a Southern Methodist institution. During two years there he proved to be a student of exceptional ability. In 1887 Dr. Warren A. Chandler, the president of Emory College in Oxford, Georgia, visited China, and recognizing Mr. Yun to be a man of extraordinary promise, brought him to the United States. Mr. Yun completed his course with honor and entered Vanderbilt University to take the theological course. In 1892, he returned to China to become a professor at the Anglo-Chinese College, where he remained until 1894. There in Shanghai he was married to a Chinese young lady, whom he brought with him to Korea when he returned to the homeland. Upon his return

in our Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai. He had been called back to his native country and had been made a member of the cabinet. Mr. Yun was converted while a student[81] attending our Anglo-Chinese College, and afterwards he came to this country, pursued a two years' course here in the Vanderbilt University, and one or more years at Emory College, where he attained great distinction as a scholar, and especially as a master of a very vigorous English style, obtaining the prize in English, a gold medal, over his American competitors. He then not only supported himself, in the country by lectures, but accumulated several hundred dollars which he left in the hands of his former college president, to be used when our church was ready to open a mission in Korea. Some influential relatives and friends begged him to send American missionaries to Songdo. . . promising their help in establishing the mission there."[82] In October 1895, Bishop

to Korea, Mr. Yun served his government as secretary and vice-minister of the department of education, and later accompanied General Min Young Whan, the Minister Plenipotentiary, to France, Germany, Austro-Hungary, and Italy and to Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. During his stay in Europe Mr. Yun added a fifth tongue, the French language. He served the government in educational and diplomatic posts, hoping to restore the rapidly declining fortunes of the nation. At one time he led the Independence Club and became the editor of the *Independent* as successor to Dr. Philip Jaisohn. Following the Japanese Protectorate over Korea, Mr. Yun gave himself entirely to religious and educational work. In 1906 he became the head of the Anglo-Korean School, a Southern Methodist institution at Songdo a position which he held until 1911. Baron Yun won great honors for his people by his brilliant address at the World's Christian Student Federation convention held in Tokyo in 1907, which he gave both in English and in Japanese, and as a delegate to the Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, and at many other world gatherings. On account of his connection with the nationalist movement, he was suspected as the leader of the Christian people alleged to be conspiring the assassination of the Japanese Governor-General, Count Terauchi, and was imprisoned in 1911. During this world-known "conspiracy" trial, the world's sympathy turned toward this man in his prison cell, where he remained until 1915. By imperial clemency he and his five associates were released and all his rank and rights were restored to him. Then Baron Yun served as General Secretary of the Korean Young Men's Christian Association until 1920, when he retired from active service. There has not yet been among the Korean people a Christian leader the equal of Baron Yun.

81 *Supra*, pp. 156, 157.

82 Report of Bishop E. A. Hendrix, Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for 1897, p. 25.

E. A. Hendrix and Dr. C. F. Reid came to Korea to prospect the country, and purched property in Seoul through the influence of Baron Yun. In regard to the climate of the country, Bishop Hendrix said: "On investigation I discovered that the climate at Seoul or that part of Korea, was quite like the climate of Virginia, that capital having about the same climate as Richmond, Va."[83] Bishop Hendrix, through Baron Yun, had an audience with the king, who said to him: "Thank the American people for the missionaries which they have sent over and ask them to send more." The report of the visiting Bishop and Dr. Reid was very enthusiastic and the invitation of Mr. Yun was too cordial to be ignored. Consequently, at the annual meeting of the Foreign Mission Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in May, 1896, resolutions were adopted approving the action of Bishop Hendrix in purchasing mission property in Seoul, and his plans of including the Korean work as an appointment of the Shanghai District of the China Mission Conference. Dr. C. F. Reid was relieved from his Shanghai duties and was placed in charge of the Korea District and authorized to remove his family to Korea in August, 1896.[84] Dr. Reid, settling at Seoul, began to lay the foundations of the mission. The relationship of the Korea District to the China conference was temporarily maintained. However, the Korea Mission was created in 1897. In the same year the base of operation was removed to Songdo. The connection with the China Mission was not entirely severed until 1907.

COMITY

As we have just indicated, during the eight years from the close of 1889 to the end of 1897, seven different missions entered the country, in addition to the two others which had already been established. Korea is a small country. The occupation of the field by so many missions could result only in conflict or in cooperation. The nine missions represented four denominational groups, Baptist, Anglican, Methodist,

83 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
84 Report of E. A. Hendrix, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

and Presbyterian. If they were to avoid conflict, the members of each group had to bury the difference which had originated half-way around the globe and unite within themselves. When that had been done, they would have taken a step toward the union of all groups into one Christian Church in Korea. All the missions were begun almost at the same time, and a large number of the missionaries were favorably inclined toward cooperation before time should have discouraged it. The Baptists[85] and the Anglicans[86] had never done much, if any, cooperation work. The members of the Methodist groups did not unite on account of the opposition of Dr. C. F. Reid, the founder of the Southern Methodist Mission in Korea.[87] The three Presbyterian bodies, however, from the beginning, united in all labors of common interest. In 1889, when J. H. Davies of the Australian Mission came to Korea, "the United Council of the Missions of the American and Victorian Churches" was organized with J. W. Heron as chairman, Mr. Davies as secretary, and Underwood, Gilford, and Allen as charter members.[88] The United Council held three or four monthly meetings, but in the spring of 1890 it was discontinued because of the death of Mr. Davies, the sole representative of the Victorian Church. In 1892, when the Southern Presbyterians established their mission in Korea, there was mutual feeling that they should avoid duplication of labor and overlapping of territories. On January 28, 1893, the "Council of Missions Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government"[89] was organized.[90] The Council consisted of

85 F. C. Fenwick served as the treasurer of the Korean Religious Tract Society for a brief term.—L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, p. 46.

86 The Rev. M. N. Trollope was elected a member of the Board of Official Translators of the Bible for a short time.—*The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 12, No. 5 (May, 1916), p. 127.

87 R. E. Speer, *Report on the Mission in Korea of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in 1897*, p. 42.

88 C. A. Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Korea*, p. 6.

89 Henceforth it will be abbreviated as Council of Missions.

90 The resolution constituting the Council reads as follows: "Resolved, that we hereby constitute ourselves the Presbyterian Mission Council of Korea, said council to consist of all male Presbyterian missionaries in Korea, and said Council to have advisory powers only. Resolved: That the Council expresses its judgment that it is best for us to carry on all our native work with

all male Presbyterian missionaries in Korea. The object of the body was "to carry on all our native work with a view to the organization of but one native Presbyterian Church in Korea." The Council had advisory power only." As a result of the action taken in the field, in March 1893, representatives of the two boards held a conference in New York[91] and made arrangements between the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions of the Southern Presbyterian Church and the Board of Foreign Missions of the Northern Presbyterian Church "with the authorization of the two General Assemblies, for thorough cooperation along missionary lines, all looking toward the establishment of one Presbyterian church in Korea."[92] At the first meeting of the Council in January, 1893, the Northern and Southern Presbyterians entered into agreement whereby the Southern Church was to occupy the two unoccupied southern provinces of Chung Chyong and Chun-la, and the Northern Church to remain in the other parts of the country where they had already established themselves. At this time both the Northern and the Australian Presbyterian Missions had established stations in Fusan. An agreement soon was reached between the two missions whereby the two districts nearest Fusan were made a joint territory, and the southern portion of the province was given to the Australian mission, while the region north of the Naktong river went to the Northern Presbyterian.[93] In 1895-1896, the Council of Missions took the responsibility for financing and publishing the Korean-English Dictionary of J. S. Gale.[94] However, "at first the organization was very loose. It was, in fact, more for mutual conferences, fellowship and advice than for any administrative purpose. The missions retained

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a view to the organization of but one native Presbyterian Church in Korea"—W. M. Baird, *Union of Presbyterian Missions in Korea, The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S., Vol. 6, No. 7 (July, 1895), p. 532.

91 Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. for 1892, p. 532.

92 N. P. Report for 1895, p. 142.

93 R. E. Speer, *Report of Missions in Korea, op. cit.*, p. 43.

94 C. A. Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Korea*, p. 7.

all powers in their own hands[95] As the missionary force increased and Christian communities arose in the country, the nature of the Council was changed and it became an administrative ecclesiastical organization.

On account of the want of close cooperation among various sectarian groups, the missionaries were soon confronted with territorial difficulties. The Northern Presbyterians and the Northern Methodists occupied the northwestern provinces, including Pyeng Yang and Euiju. They and the Corean Itinerant Mission had work in Wonsan on the eastern coast. The Southern Presbyterians, the Ella Thing Memorial Mission (Baptist) and the Northern Methodists were working in Chung Chyong province. When the Southern Methodists entered the country, the territorial conflict was intensified. They established a mission at Seoul, extended their work to Whanghai province, where both the Northern Presbyterian and Northern Methodists had already begun operations. The difficulty was soon overcome, when the Southern Methodists withdrew their work from that province and commenced east of Songdo and north of the Han river and in the unoccupied eastern province of Kang Won.[96] In order to prevent friction and overlapping in jointly occupied sections of the country, in 1893 the Northern Presbyterians and Northern Methodists entered into an agreement. The general principles established were that open ports and towns having a population of five thousand could be occupied by both missions, that smaller towns should be given to the first mission which established a sub-station in them, and that no membership should be transferred without a letter of recommendation.[97] However, the visiting Bishop R. S. Foster disapproved the proposal and the action of the Methodists was nullified. Notwithstanding this failure of official sanction, the principles outlined above gradually became the practical policy of the missions, until a rigid division of territory was made.

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95 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
96 R. E. Speer, *Report on Mission in Korea, cp. cit.*, p. 41.
97 For the full text of the agreement, see Appendix C.

MISSION POLICIES

Before we record the progress of missionary labor, we will add an outline of the general policy pursued by missions during these eight years. At the first meeting held in January, 1893, the Council of Missions adopted the following, which is representative of the principles of the Protestant mission in Korea at that time:

"1. It is better to aim at the conversion of the working classes than that of the higher classes.

2. The conversion of women and the training of Christian girls should be an especial aim, since mothers exercise so important an influence over future generations.

3. Much could be effected in Christian education by maintaining elementary schools in country towns; therefore we should aim to qualify young men in our boys' school and to send them out as teachers.

4. Our hope for an educated native ministry lies in the same quarter, and should be constantly held in view.

5. The Word of God converts where man is without resources: therefore it is most important that we make every effort to place a clear translation of the Bible before the people as soon as possible.

6. In all literary work, a pure Korean, free from sinicisms, should be our aim.

7. An aggressive church must be a self-supporting church, and we must aim to diminish the proportion of dependents among our membership and to increase that of self-supporting, and therefore contributing individuals.

8. The mass of Koreans must be led to Christ by their own fellow-countrymen; therefore we shall thoroughly train a few as evangelists rather than preach to a multitude ourselves.

9. The services of our physicians can be turned to best account when it is possible to keep the same patient long under treatment either in a hospital ward or in the patient's home, thus giving opportunity for instruction and example to sink deeply into mind. Dispensary work is of comparatively little profit.

10. Patients from the country who have undergone a season of treatment ought to be followed up by visitation in their native villages, since their experience of compassionate dealing is likely to open a wide door for the evangelist."[98]

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98 C. C. Vinton, "Presbyterian Mission Work in Korea," *The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S., Vol. 6, No. 9 (September, 1893), p. 671.

EVANGELISTIC WORK IN SEOUL

The evangelistic efforts in the capital by the two leading denominations were marked by "quiet and substantial."[99] Regular Sunday services were maintained and the singing of hymns, which had been thought inadvisable in the past[100] because it might attract attention, now became a part of the service.[101] Sunday School work was begun for the instruction of the convert, and the communion was observed quarterly. The two original churches were located in the foreign quarter at Chung Dong, but now extension to other parts of the city was undertaken. Outside of the West Gate, at Aogai, the Methodists opened a chapel which was in charge of the Rev W. A. Noble.[102] On the east side of the city the Methodists on Christmas day, 1892, opened the Baldwin Memorial Chapel.[103] Work was admirably carried on there by Homer B. Hulbert, who joined the mission in 1893. We have already noted the opening of the Methodist dispensary at Sang Dong, near the South Gate. A Christian community gradually arose in the neighborhood through the good work of the hospital and the influence of Mrs. F.M. Scranton.[104] In 1893, the Presbyterians also opened a chapel at Kong Dong Kol, in 1894 at Yak Yun, and in 1895 at Yun Mot Kol.[105] The mother church of the Methodist mission at Chung Dong adopted a new policy. The pastorate of the girls' school had been maintained as a separate charge on account of the strict seclusion of sexes. Now, in order to conserve the energy of the missionaries, a new and large church building was erected in which both men and women could meet at the same time, although in different wings. Mr. H. G. Appenzeller served for many years as the pastor of this church.[106]

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99 M. E. North Report for 1891, p. 270. "Quiet but steady and real progress"—N. P. Report for 1892, p. 174.
100 *Supra*, p. 157.
101 N. P. Report for 1892, p. 174.
102 M. E. North Report for 1894, p. 244. He had come to Korea in 1894.
103 M. E. North Report for 1893, p. 252.
104 *Ibid.* for 1894, p. 245.
105 C. C. Vinton, "Statistics of the Protestant Churches in Korea" *The Korean Repostory* for October, 1895, p. 382.
106 M. E. North Report for 1896, p. 243.

One of the most remarkable features of the evangelistic efforts in and around the capital was the number of conversions among the butcher class, an occupational group which was reported to number thirty thousand.[107] Mr. S. F. Moore, of the Presbyterian mission, was the pioneer in the field. The butchers were outcasts in Korean society, perhaps on account of their occupation of destroying life. They were looked upon as cruel, and their knives were considered most dangerous instruments. In order to distinguish them from other people, they were not allowed to wear the hat of the gentry. They were forbidden to marry outside of their caste. To say to a man that he acted like a butcher was a great insult. One of the class, Pak by name, was converted. When the Reform Era dawned, the butchers petitioned the government for liberation and equal treatment. The petition was granted and they were given an improved social and political status.[108] The first convert of the butchers became an instrument for spreading Christian liberty as well as social freedom among his caste. It is reported that a large number of butchers became Christians, but there are no precise records.

EVANGELISTIC WORK IN THE COUNTRY

Evangelistic work in the country also made progress during the period. The work in Sorai is especially interesting. This little village was visited by almost every missionary who sought rural contacts to learn the language and the people. As we have already noted, J. S. Gale, M. C. Fenwick, and W. J. McKenzie, who were all Canadians, though they came under different auspices, visited the place. Mr. Gale stayed there three months, but we have no record of his work, except the wholesome influence of his life that strengthened the new converts and attracted many inquirers.[108'] Mr. Fenwick lived there until 1893, when he re-

107 N. P. Report for 1896, p. 158.

108 N. P. Report for 1896. pp. 158. 159. For further study on the butcher class, see S. F. Moore, "The Butchers of Korea," *The Korean Repository* for April, 1898, pp. 127-132.

108' J. S. Gale, Korean Sketches, pp. 24-51.

turned to America. The name that will always be most closely associated with the Sorai church, however, is that of Rev. W. J. McKenzie. We have already sketched the life of this devoted man. His work in Sorai and in Korea is well told by his biographer, Miss Elizabeth A. McCully. McKenzie lived a faithful Christian life which won the admiration and sympathy of many. He was apparently the first to inaugurate a self-supporting program in church building, and the first church built by Koreans was erected in this village under his direction. In the last letter which he penned to Dr. O. R. Avison asking his help, he wrote: "Our church will be finished in twenty days' time; finished well."[109] This church was dedicated by Dr. Underwood on July 3, 1895, while he was there to investigate the death of his lamented co-worker.[110] During these troublous times, the Koreans hated the Japanese intensely and often mistook Westerners for them. In places where he was not known, McKenzie was suspected of being an agent of the Japanese. Consequently, to dispel their suspicions, he undertook occasional visits to surrounding villages and districts and explored the whole western coast of the Whanghai province. One of his conspicuous services during the unrest in the province was his personal influence in winning the Tong Haks. Before the Japanese soldiers reached the northern provinces, the Tong Haks were very active, even in village life. McKenzie described their activities as follows:

> "It [the Tong Haks] spread here among the ignorant and vicious, particularly the poor. The object seems to be to make an easy living. They have every one of them done very little farming, which means robbing in winter and plunder. I take it to mean simply a desperate attempt to live."[111]

He openly denounced the lawless activities of the sect,[112] and his life was in peril. However, by gentle dealings with those who came to him, he won many. When the Japanese came to the north, the Tong Haks sought refuge with the foreign missionary. They denied the Tong Hak doctrines and

109 Letter dated Sorai, June 23, 1895; E. A. McCully, *A Corn of Wheat* (The Life of Rev. W. J. McKenzie of Korea), 2d ed., p. 249.
110 H. G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, p. 109.
111 E. A. McCully, *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 166.
112 *Ibid.*, p. 152.

requested McKenzie to give them notes certifying that they were not Tong Haks.[113] Thus he created a new access to the people for the preaching of his faith. Before we leave the work of McKenzie, we must mention the fact that he became instrumental in bringing the Canadian Presbyterian mission to Korea. One of the pioneer missionaries of the Canadian Church is Dr. Robert G. Grierson, with whom he had corresponded, asking him to come to Korea.[114]

One of the oldest mission stations in Korea is Fusan. As we have already seen, between 1885 and 1890 the Chinese catechists had begun Christian work at the port, and the National Bible Society of Scotland had made it the headquarters of its Japanese colporteurs. Later J. S. Gale settled there for a time, as had his associate, Dr. R. A. Hardie.[115] It is also where J. H. Davies of Australia died and was buried. When the Presbyterian Women's Union of Victoria sent representatives to Korea they chose this port for the center of their labors, and in 1893 a Mr. Sim or Sim Sye Bang, the teacher of Miss B. Menzies, was baptized by Mr. W. M. Baird as their first convert. In the same year, the ladies accepted the responsibility of three orphan girls, "with a view to training these children from early years....that they may become missionaries to their own people."[116] These three girls were under the care of Miss Jean Perry. By 1895 the number had increased to thirteen, but in that year "Miss Perry in consequence of her religious views"[117] suddenly left the mission field, even before her resignation reached headquarters, and severed her connection with the Presbyterian Church, as well as with the Women's Union of the Victorian Church.[118] In the following year the Union reenforced the mission by sending the Misses Brown and Dinwoodie, but the latter soon re-

113 E. A. McCully, *op. cit.*, p. 184
114 *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 249.
115 W. M. Baird, "Two Continents United by An Unseen Band," *The Church at Home and Abroad* for May, 1892, p. 405.
116 Annual Report of Presbyterian Missionary Union for 1894, p. 8.
117 *Ibid.* for 1895, p. 6.
118 *Ibid., loc. cit.* Later Miss Perry came to Seoul and started an orphanage, which has been largely supported by her friends in England.

turned.[119] The ladies employed the father of their first convert, the elder Sim, to teach boys. Thus they inaugurated a boys' school in 1897 under the supervision of Miss Menzies.[120] They labored not only in the town, but carried their work into the surrounding villages.

The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. attempted to open a mission station at Fusan as early as 1889, when it reappointed Dr. H. N. Allen to Korea. On account of the failure to secure suitable property, however,[121] the opening of the station was delayed until 1891, when a site was purchased through the intervention of the American Minister, and Mr. and Mrs. W. M. Baird were dispatched to occupy it. In the spring of 1892, Mr. Baird made an exploratory tour through the southern districts of the province.[122] Mr. Baird found indications of a strong Catholic influence in the south and he wrote: "We cannot claim to have done more than let the Korean community know that we are there to teach a new religion, different from the Roman Catholic.[123] But Mr. and Mrs. Baird opened a guest-room where they met visitors of both sexes, and even carried on country work.[124] In 1892, Dr. and Mrs. Hugh M. Brown joined the Bairds, but ill-health forced the doctor to return to America. In 1894, Dr. and Mrs. C.H. Irvin, and in the following year Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Adams, came to Fusan. In the same year the Bairds were transferred to Seoul for educational work, leaving the station in the south in the hands of the Adamses and the Irvins. The occupation of Fusan was an important departure for the Presbyterian mission, for it marked an advance in the policy of decentralization and gave it access to southern Korea.

The occupation of Chemulpo had been a project of the Methodists from the early days of their Mission.[125] It was not

119 Annual Report of the Presbyterian Missionary Union for 1896, p. 7.
120 *Ibid.* for 1898, pp. 6, 7.
121 *Supra*, p. 112.
122 W. M. Baird, "The Fusan Circuit," *The Church at Home and Abroad* for October, 1892, p. 325.
123 N. P. Report for 1892, p. 175.
124 *Ibid.* for 1895, p. 120.
125 M. E. North Report for 1887, p. 316; fort 1888, p. 343.

until 1891, however, that Bishop D. A. Goodsell placed Mr. Appenzeller in charge of a station there.[126] When Appenzeller came to the United States on furlough, G. H. Jones, who then lived at Seoul, took charge of the circuit.[127] On account of the fluctuation of the port's population, and the want of a resident missionary, the work did not make rapid progress. In 1893, however, the island of Kangwha and the whole province of Whanghai was added to this circuit,[128] and Mr. Jones moved to Chemulpo. In the following year, the pastor in charge reported that a foothold had been gained at Chemulpo and Kangwha and that eighteen full members and forty-two probationers were enrolled.[129] In the same year the local Christians erected a chapel, the first Methodist church built by Koreans. A day school was also opened, with twenty-five boys. The church made aggressive steps in the following year and provided a small home for the worker in Kangwha and a parsonage for the local preacher at Chemulpo, and added to the membership of the church.[130] This circuit proved to be one of the strongest self-supporting and self-propagating churches of the Methodist mission.

As Wonsan was a treaty port, many missisons made attempts to occupy it. Mr. Moffett, describing his trip to "the Yalu and Beyond," reported to the Mission Board at New York: "In this region [Wonsan] we found what we consider the most beautiful, most wealthy, and apparently the most prosperous region of Korea, and we feel the importance of opening work there as soon as the work already begun has proper oversight, and places more imperatively demanding men are supplied."[131] The Presbyterian work was opened in 1892 by J. S. Gale, but Mr. Gale devoted most of his time to translation work. In 1894, the missionary force was reenforced by the addition of Mr. and Mrs. W. L. Swallen, who undertook itineration in the province of Ham

126 M. E. North Report for 1891, p. 270.
127 *Ibid.* for 1892, p. 282.
128 *Ibid.* for 1893, p. 250.
129 *Ibid.* for 1894, p. 243.
130 *Ibid.* for 1894, p. 242.
131 N. P. Report for 1892, p. 176.

Kyeng. The Methodist Episcopal Mission and the Presbyterians opened work in the same year. Dr. William McGill, the Presbyterian representative, sold books, treated the sick, and explored the country.[132] His work was not without result, for in 1896 it was reported that there were two hundred and nineteen members and probationers. The proceeds from Dr. McGill's medical practice among the foreigners residing in the port were large enough to purchase a chapel at Wonsan in that year. Mr. M. C. Fenwick settled at the port and occasionally assisted the short-handed missionaries,[133] but we have no full record of his work. The Southern Methodist Mission also entered the territory and sent Dr. R. A. Hardie there. All this duplication of effort was not adjusted until the division of territory was agreed upon.

As Fusan is the entrance to Korea from Japan, so is Euiju from China. On account of Korea's relations with China, Euiju had been an important border city. The people of Euiju had had frequent intercourse with their Chinese neighbors, and had very early contacts with the Protestant missionaries in Manchuria. The pioneer Christian at Euiju was undoubtedly Paik Hong Chun, who was baptized at New Chwang in 1880.[134] Paik returned to his native city as a Colporteur and distributed Christian literature.[135] When Mr. Underwood and his wife visited the city in 1889, he found that "over one hundred"[136] men applied for baptism, and he baptized thirty-three of them, at that time going across the Chinese border for the ceremony.[137] In 1891, Mr. Moffett wrote: "In Euiju, on the border of China, where an evangelist[138] has been at work for a time, we were most

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132 M. E. Report for 1894, pp. 241, 242.
133 *Ibid.* for 1897, p. 244.
134 *Supra*, p. 144.
135 S. A. Moffett, "Our Korean Evangelists," *The Church at Home and Abroad* for August, 1892, p. 142.
136 L. H. Underwood, *Fifteen Years Among the Top-Knots*, p. 85.
137 *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 87. Administering the religious rites on the Korean soil was forbidden by the American Minister at Seoul at this time.
138 The evangelist is Paik Hong Chun. He died in the winter of 1893. —S. A. Moffett, "Life at Korean Outpost, "*The Church at Home and Abroad* for May, 1894, p. 374.

pleasantly surprised to find a field ripe for the harvest and the people anxious to have a missionary come and live among them. We stayed twelve days, giving daily instruction to those who had already heard the gospel, and making known to many for the first time the news of salvation from sin.... We were in Euiju two Sundays and held two well-attended services, at the latter of which I administered the Lord's Supper to ten Koreans who had previously received baptism."[139] In the same year a small house was purchased as the residence and headquarters of the evangelist and also as a temporary stopping place for missionaries. Thus the city was tentatively occupied and missionaries frequently visited it. When Mr. Moffett revisited Euiju in 1892, he baptized one Han Syuk Chin, who became his assistant in the opening of Pyeng Yang.[140] While Moffett was residing at Pyeng Yang he made frequent trips to Euiju until 1896, when Mr. N. C. Wittemore took charge of the field.

The city of Pyeng Yang was called by early missionaries the Sodom of Korea.[141] It is the city where in 1866 the Rev. R. J. Thomas, of the London Missionary Society, was killed, and the American schooner, the *General Sherman*, was burned.[142] The first Protestant missionary who visited the city after R. J. Thomas was Mr. Appenzeller, who stopped in the city during his first interior journey in 1887. Afterwards both the Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries made frequent visits. Mr. Moffett himself visited the city six times during the year 1892.[143] The Presbyterian Mission was not quite decided as to the location of its mission station in Northern Korea, wavering between Pyeng Yang and Euiju. At the annual meeting of the Northern Presby-

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139 S. A. Moffett, "Evangelistic Tour in the North Korea," *Ibid.* for October, 1891, pp. 329, 330.
140 S. A. Moffett, "Early Days in Pyeng Yang," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (March, 1925), p. 53.
141 M. E. North Report for 1888, p. 339.
142 *Supra*, p. 45.
143 S. A. Moffett, "A New Mission Station at Pyeng Yang," *The Church at Home and Abroad* for August, 1893, p. 107.

terian Mission in January, 1893,[144] Messrs. Moffett, Lee, and Swallen were appointed "to open and occupy Pyeng Yang." It will be of interest to read the record of the carrying out of this commission as Dr. Moffett wrote it:

"In the month of March we three left for Pyeng Yang, hoping to make arrangements whereby we could comfortably spend three months or more at a time, for a year or so, until we had won our way with the officials and people, so that no objection would be raised to our permanent residence there. A stay of ten days enabled us to select property suited to our purposes and well located for our work, as it was on the main road from the North and West, a short distance outside the city wall. As we have no right to purchase property in the interior, our Korean helper, Mr. Han, bought this in his own name. We were arranging for its occupation, believing that all was clear sailing ahead of us, since the week before our Methodist brethren, who are also planning to enter this city, had enabled their native helper to buy two houses inside the city. However, the rumor soon gained currency that the foreigners had bought property, and first came an order from the Governor to the Methodist evangelist that his property should be returned to its former owners, and several days afterwards, when it was discovered that Mr. Han was connected with us, came the same order with reference to his purchase. The former owners of the property were thrown into prison until the transactions were reversed, and although I represented to the official that these men had violated no Korean law, I soon found that the official's will is law, so far as Koreans are concerned, and that a native has no rights which the official is bouud to respect—not even the right to buy or sell property. Consequently we could do nothing, and our helpers were compelled to return the property....The people were most friendly, quite ready to listen to the preaching of the Gospel, and I talked with many inquirers. However, they stand in great fear of the officials, and, realizing that we could not secure an abiding place at that time, Mr. Lee and I started for Euiju, Mr. Swallen having left a few days before for a trip through Whanghai Province on his way to Seoul."[145]

Later he wrote:

"By the fall of 1893 all was ready for the permanent occupation of Pyeng Yang as a new station, so I moved there, taking up quarters in

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144 W. M. Baird. "Union of Presbyterian Missions in Korea," *The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S., Vol. 6, No. 7, (July, 1893), p. 532.

145 S. A. Moffett, "A New Mission Station at Pyeng Yang," *The Church at Home and Abroad* for August, 1893, p. 107. "The opposition," says Dr. Moffett, "of the governor most probably arose from two causes: first, the interference of a petty official, one of his personal attendants, who was enraged because the

the houses near the East Gate.[146]....In October I organized a class of twenty-two catchumens and placed them under systematic instruction. ....Daily the visitors came, daily tracts were distributed, and the Gospel preached to people in city and suburbs while every night Bible study, prayer meetings and catechumen classes were held. On the 8th of January, 1894 seven men were baptized and the Lord's Supper celebrated.[147]

After a stay of seven months,[148] Moffett believed the station and its work to be well under way and returned to Seoul. While he was at the capital, Dr. and Mrs. Hall of the Methodist Mission moved to Pyeng Yang to establish a residence there. The second night after their arrival, as we shall see, a serious persecution broke out. The missionaries at Seoul took up the matter with the authorities and despatched Moffett and McKenzie to render assistance. McKenzie went on Sorai, while Moffett stayed in Pyeng Yang until the Chinese troops occupied the city. Moffett tarried in Seoul until the autumn of 1895, when he returned to his post to resume his work. Mr. Moffett reported his work at Pyeng Yang in the *post bellum* period as follows :

"The work has passed the initiatory stage, and has become established. We have a church beginning to develop and expand, and to make itself felt as a factor in the life of the city and the surrounding country. We are also able to report that in several places there are now either small churches established or groups of catechumens meeting regularly every Sunday for worship and study."[149]

The Methodist Mission extended their work, just as did the Presbyterian, as far as Euiju and supplied those posts by local preachers and evangelists. They met with varying success. In 1892, in reporting the discouraging side of the mission work in the North, Mr. Ohlinger said :

"At Euiju....we have had much trouble in preventing our people

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Methodist helper refused to buy his house at a high price ; and second, the fact that the governor is a rabid Confucianist, ready to prevent us from getting even a clean and respectful place to stay in while in the city."—*Ibid.*, pp. 107, 103.

146 When the Japanese and the Chinese purchased properties in the city, "the most favored nation" clause in the treaty enabled missionaries to secure real estate in the interior.

147 S. A. Moffett, "Early Days in Pyeng Yang," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (March, 1925), p. 54.

148 *Ibid., loc, cit.*

149 N. P. Report for 1896, p. 163.

from putting our property to scandalous uses. It had become known as a saloon, and attempts have been made to sell it, secretly, because (as one of them says) our leading man there was not taken on pay by the mission....This was the case of the preacher who sold our chapel at Pyeng Yang and pocketed the money."[150]

On account of these facts, at the annual meeting of the Mission in August, 1892, Dr. W. J. Hall was appointed to the Pyeng Yang circuit. Dr. Hall tells us that when he visited the city for the first time in March of the next year "an edict was issued prohibiting the buying of our books."[151] However, he entered the town on September 30 and stayed in a hired inn for five weeks,[152] treating sick people and speaking on religious subjects to his callers. The people were generally good to this kindly man, except on one occasion when he was met with a shower of stones.[153] In February of the following year he purchased [property] through Kim Chang Sik, his Korean helper,[154] having won the favor of the people and governor by his medical work.[155] Dr. Hall made frequent visits during the year. In May, 1894, he brought his wife and boy to Pyeng Yang and stayed through the perils of the Pyeng Yang persecution, When it became evident that the Chinese would join battle with the Japanese at Pyeng Yang, the whole missionary force withdrew to Seoul, until October, 1895, when Dr. Hall returned. "Dr. Hall was busy from morning till night attending the sick, directing his men, reestablishing his school for boys, and holding service every evening with the Koreans"[156] On account of ill-health he returned in November of that year to Seoul, where he died.

During the period covered by this chapter the Southern Presbyterians began work in Seoul and in the Southwest. While they were learning the language and adjusting them-

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150 M. E. North Report for 1892, p. 286.
151 R. S. Hall, *The Life of Rev. William James Hall, M. D.* p. 268.
152 *Ibid.*, p. 255.
153 *Ibid* p. 261
154 *Ibid.*, p. 263.
155 *Ibid.*, p. 263.
156 S. A. Moffett, "Pioneer Work in Korea." *The Chinese Recorder*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (February, 1895), p. 84.

selves in the country, they worked with other Presbyterians in the capital.[157] In 1894, Dr. A. D. Drew, the first physician of the mission, came to Korea, but did not open medical work as there were already other hospitals. In 1896, Mr. W. D. Reynolds was appointed to represent his Mission in the Union Board of Bible Translators.[158] The occupation of their field of labor in the Southwest was delayed on account of sickness among the missionaries, the disturbances of the Tong Haks, and the war between China and Japan. However, in order to secure a foothold, in 1893 a house was bought in the city of Chunju. In the spring of the following year, when the mission decided to open a station at Chunju, Mr. Tate and his sister were despatched to make an experimental trip. They remained there until the Tong Hak insurrection broke out in the summer. In the spring of 1896, following the Tong Hak uprising, Mr. Tate established a permanent residence at Chunju. "Although there had been applicants for baptism as far back as 1894, none had stood the test of time and war troubles....After the war, the work had to be started afresh."[159] In July, 1897, the missionaries baptized the first applicants for baptism. In September of that year chapel services were begun. The port of Kunsan, on the mouth of Basil's Bay, was not permanently occupied until the Autumn of 1897.

The result of the evangelistic work during the period was not meager. In 1895 there were "forty-two congregations....In nineteen or more of these stated preaching is observed, in the remainder the exercises are of a simpler character. Four are churches formally organized under the Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, eight are recognized branches of the one organized Presbyterian Church in Korea."[160] As regards location, the Christians were scattered throughout the northwestern and southeastern

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157 S. P. Report for 1894, p. 27; for 1895, p. 24; and for 1897, p. 44.
158 *Ibid.*, for 1897, p. 44.
159 S. P. Report for 1898, p. 61.
160 C. C. Vinton, "Statistics of the Protestant Churches in Korea," *The Korean Repository* for October, 1895, p. 332.

parts of the country, and in the capital. There were reported in all five hundred and twenty-eight baptized Protestants and five hundred and sixty-seven who were variously reported as "catechumens," "probationers," or "inquirers." Following the Sino-Japanese War, the increase of the membership was so rapid that in 1897 the Methodist Church reported 1,074 probationers and 306 full members, while the Northern Presbyterians recorded 530 communicants and ten organized churches.[161]

TRAINING OF THE KOREAN MINISTRY

When churches were organized, the immediate problem which the missionaries had to face was that of administration. Church administration involves the training of the ministry, the determination of the nature of the church organization, and the establishment of ecclesiastical rules. In order to train a "self-sacrificing, self-reliant, self-respecting"[162] ministry, the missionaries in the main followed the principles of the Nevius method.[163] In 1896 the Rev. W. D. Reynolds, setting forth ideals for the training of the Korean ministry, outlined the following three negative and four positive principles:

Negative:

1. "Don't let him know for a long time that you have an idea of training him for the ministry."
2. "Don't employ him as a preacher or evangelist on foreign pay if you can help it."
3. "Don't send him to America to be educated, at any rate in the early stage of mission work."

Positive:

1. "Seek to fit him to a high plane of spiritual experience. Let him strive above all else to be a 'Holy Ghost Man."
2. "Ground him thoroughly in the Word and in the cardinal facts and truths of Christianity."

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161 M. E. North Report for 1897, p. 248; N. P. Report for 1897, p. 222.

162 W. D. Reynolds, "The Native Ministry," *The Korean Repository* for May, 1896, p. 199.

163 "Until the work has developed sufficiently to justify, regular organizations, the mission believes in the 'Nevius Method of work, with its leaders appointed in different localities." D. L. Gilford, *Annual Meeting of the Presbyterian Mission, North, The Korean Repository for December, 1895*, p. 444.

3. "Train the young pastor-to-be to 'endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.'"
4. "As Korean Christians advance in culture and modern civilization, raise the standard of education of the native ministry. Seek to keep his education sufficiently in advance of the average education of his people to secure respect and prestige but not enough ahead to excite envy or a feeling of separation."[164]

Then the writer concludes the article by saying: "A Korean ministry for a Korean church should be our motto: no namby-pamby, half-foreignized, mercenary ministry for an invertebrate mass of jelly-fish Christian; but a self-sacrificing, self-reliant, self-respecting Korean pastorate over a self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating Korean church."[165]

We appreciate the caution and care that the missionaries employed in training the Korean ministry ; we also recognize the high motives in the policy we have just quoted. Even the best intentions, however, when they are carried to an extreme, often have bad results. The whole policy seems to us not to have been based upon far-sighted vision. Self-respect and self-reliance are most to be looked for among educated leaders, and these Korean leaders were to be successors to the service that missionaries themselves had rendered to the Korean church. The intellectual training and cultural character of Korean minister should have been elevated to a high plane in order to avoid an invidious comparison and wide chasm between him and the foreign missionary. It is strange, moreover, that the missionaries should have minimized the intellectual standard of the Korean minister. Why should it be necessary that the missionary should have college and theological training, while his successor, the Korean minister, should be educated just a little above his parishioners ? As we have already shown, Christianity took its root among the lower and unlearned classes of the people. The intellectual caliber of the minister, which was raised just above this class, could not be high. The rising younger generation went to Japan and other countries for education

164 W. D. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, pp. 200, 201.
165 *Ibid.*, P. 202.

in arts and science while the Christian ministry in the Korean church was composed of men of the past generation without a modern education. Thus the Korean ministry, instead of securing the "respect and prestige" of the people received exactly the opposite. Mr. Yi Kwang Su, a talented young Korean writer, in 1917, writing on "Defects of the Korean Church Today," made the following interesting observations :

"Another bad fruit is the contempt for learning. To say that the church, which founds schools, despise learning sounds like a contradiction ; but a real Christian so-called treats learning with the greatest contempt, calling it 'worldly knowledge.' Arguing that the 'worldly knowledge' weakens faith, he regards learning as a temptation of the devil and an enemy of the soul. Those who desire to acquire an education higher than that of a special school, or to go abroad for study, are considered to have already stepped inside the gates of hell.' 'Faith is all important. To learn ever so much—what is the use of it?' is the instruction which a real believer gives to his children. In church schools no attention is paid to natural science, geography or history—the essential subjects in a modern curriculum. Remember that the Koreans of today must seek learning as the thirsty seek water. The most surprising thing is the opposition of church officers, like pastors and elders to the 'worldly knowledge.' We may discover three reasons to account for this attitude. (1) The church officers being, themselves, devoid of understanding in matters of enlightenment and of science, can have no understanding, or sympathy, for the 'knowledge,' so called. (2) Those who have acquired the 'worldly knowledge' do not accept what the church officers are pleased to call the 'knowledge of God.' (3) Many a young man who has learned a little of the 'worldly knowledge' has often proved himself superficial in learning, weak in faith and disrespectful to elders. Be the cause what it may, to despise knowledge is the sure road to destruction. It is indeed a regrettable attitude."[166]

The education of the Korean church leadership was by the training class system, which is one of the strongest points in the Nevius method. The object of the class is obvious ; it "was not simply instruction, but special and prayful efforts were made to deepen the religious life and inspire the hearts of the native Koreans with a zeal for Christian service."[167] Nevertheless the problems were numerous.

166 Yi Kwang Su, "Defects of the Korean Church Today," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 19, No. 12 (December, 1918), p. 254.
167 *The Church at Home and Abroad* for August, 1803, p. 103.

There were very few among the new converts who maintained an outstanding character and who would naturally be recognized as leaders. There were no funds available for the erection of training schools: the missionaries whose knowledge of the language and years of experience and training fitted them to be teachers were already involved in many duties. At the same time the leading missionaries has already become important evangelists whose absence from the field could not be afforded. In order to meet these difficulties, the missionaries at first held the training classes during the winter for a month or six weeks at a central point like Seoul or Pyeng Yang. At the beginning, when the helpers and evangelists were few, they were brought to the missionary centers at the expense of the missions and supported there while they were under training.[168] "The curriculum consisted largely of direct instruction from the Bible, theological and historical, accompanied by practical hints as to Christian living and ministerial service ____efforts [were also] made to inspire their hearts with a sense of duty to their countrymen and prepare them for an evangelistic campaign in Korea."[169] As the numbers increased, winter and spring classes were held in different centers.[170] In these classes self-support was soon established and many new rules were adopted in the class system.[171]

CHURCH ORGANIZATION

Leadership presupposes some stage or form of government. There can be no self-governing church withouttrained leadership. In 1897, Dr. Robert E. Speer, reporting his visit to the Korea Mission, wrote: "Although there are ten or more Churches, there is yet no Presbytery. The missionaries have been well aware of the dangers of prematurely organizing such a body, and have preferred to wait until

168 N. P. Report for 1892, p. 174.
169 *The Church at Home and Abroad* for August, 1893, p. 103.
170 M. E. North Report for 1894, p. 240; N. P. Report for 1895, p. 122.
171 For the rules of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church governing the training class system, see Appendix D.

they have the materials for it, and could come as the needed development of a church whose life required it."[172] As there were no ordained ministers or governing ecclesiastical organizations, the administration of the church was by missionaries who acted as pastors, and the Council of Missions was made the seat of ecclesiastical authority. Article XVI, of the By-Laws of the Presbyterian Church, explains the exercise of the ecclesiastical authority as follows: "Until its organization in accordance with the Presbyterian usage, the native church shall be administered by the Council of Missions in Korea Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government, through a session of five members, to be elected annually. All candidates shall be examined by the session, or by some one empowered by it; and no baptism shall be administered except by its sanction. When deemed expedient, a similar session may be created by the Council in any other place. It shall be understood by the mission that to this session are delegated the powers of a church session only. Additional powers may be, from time to time, specifically delegated to it by the Council on recommendation of a mission."[173] The By-Laws further provided the manner of procedure. Section A, Article V, reads "Each sub-station[174] shall have, if possible, a leader or leaders, either elected by the people or appointed by the missionary in charge, whose duty it shall be to take charge of the Sabbath service, in the absence of the helper or other person appointed for that purpose. Except in special cases, leaders shall receive no salaries from the mission funds," Article IX reads: "It shall be the aim of the mission, when practicable, to provide a full church organization at each sub-station and even before this shall have been accomplished, to supply the preaching of the gospel by competent person at stated intervals." Article X reads: "On Sunday when there is no regular preaching at a sub-station, the local leader or elder shall conduct, or invite some competent person to conduct, an

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172 R. E. Speer, *Report on the Mission in Korea of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.* in 1897 p. 10.
173 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

orderly service of worship." Section B, Article IV, provides that: "Elders and deacons are officers of the church as laid down in the Scriptures and defined, only after nomination by the sesson of the Council and election by the church, and subsequent instruction as to the duties of the office for at least six months."[175] Under the rules, the missionaries were the only ones who could receive converts and administer scraments.

DISCIPLINE

In making ecclesiastical rules, the two most difficult questions that the missionaries had to face were ancestral worship and plural marriage relationships. There had been extensive debates and discussions among the missionaries and missionary bodies on these subjects, and both individual missionaries and missionary bodies made pronouncements on them. Ancestor worship had already been declared to be contrary to the Christian religion,[176] but it was only a local action taken by a few missionaries at Seoul. Later missionaries, however, adhered to this precedent, thus following what was practically the universal practice among other missionary bodies in China and Japan. Perhaps one of the most interesting methods used in settling the question of ancestor worship was that of the questionnaire. While he was residing at Wonsan the question confronted Mr. J. S. Gale and his church. Before he took definite action on the subject, he sent out papers to the Christians and asked them to write down their views of the practice. The unanimous opinion was that ancestor worship was contrary to New Testament teachings and that offering sacrifice was foolish. One of them said: "For me, of course, I must remember my parents, but offering sacrifice to them is, I know, foolishness."[177] This democratic procedure was possible in a local

174 "A sub-station consists of a number of Christian who meet together on the Sabbath in a chapel or private room for the worship of God."—R. E. Speer, *op, cit.*, pp. 17, 18.
175 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
176 *Supra*, p. 149.
177 N. P. North Report for 1896, p. 162.

church, but not for the whole country. However, as the Gospel was preached, it was consistently declared that ancestor worship was contrary to Christian principles, and the giving up of this practice was made one of the requirements for church membership.

The question of polygamy was a more difficult one. The Methodists, however, took early action. In 1895 the following resolution was passed: "It is the judgment of this annual meeting that the action of Bro. George Heber Jones as cited in his report, viz., the exclusion of a probationer on account of polygamous relations, is in accordance with the law and usage of our church and that in the judgment of this meeting no man or woman living in polygamous relations can enter or retain membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church."[178] The Presbyterian group went into the question very thoroughly; Mr. W. N. Baird made an extensive study of the matter which resulted in a contribution to the literature on the problem.[179] We cannot go fully into the debate, but will content ourselves with quoting the summary of the Minutes of the Council of Mission: "Two half days were devoted to the discussion of the advisability of admitting men with plural wives to church membership. Scripture was quoted on both sides, and a correspondence from missionaries in Japan, China, and India was read. It is worthy of note in passing that with a few exceptions nearly all of the old and well-known names of China were found ranged on the side of leniency. The Council at the end seemed very closely divided, and the discussion was postponed for one year,"[180] Eventually the Council decided to prohibit the practice. We read in its Minutes as follows: "Resolved that Mr. Saw be informed that the rule of the church is that no man can be a member who holds complicated marriage relations with more

178 "The Annual Meeting of the Methodist Misson," *The Korean Repository* for September, 1895, pp. 356-357

179 W. M. Baird, "Should Polygamists be Admitted to the Christian Church?" *Ibid.* for July, 1896, pp. 281-282; August, pp. 232-233; Sept., pp 350-360.

180 D. L. Gilford, Annual Meeting of Presbyterian Mission, North," *Ibid.* for November, 1895, pp. 443, 444.

than one woman. That, in consequence of this, as information has come to us that he is involved in such relationships, he is hereby suspended from membership until such time as he shall rectify these relations to the satisfaction of the session, and prove himself the husband of but one woman."[181]

The foregoing discussion at once leads to the question of requirements for church membership. One of the severest criticisms, levied against the Korea mission during this period. charged it with laxity in its requirements for chuch membership. We have already seen that in 1891-1892, when Dr. H. G, Underwood was in America on furlough, he made extensive tours in Canada and the United States speaking in the interests of missions in Korea. Having heard reports of his speeches, M. C. Fenwick, of the Corean Itinerant Mission, wrote a letter[182] to his friend, J. H. Brookes. This letter was printed in a periodical called *The Truth,* published in St. Louis, Missouri, and subsequently a part of it was reprinted in "Reality versus Romance in South Central Africa," a book by Dr. James Johnston. In this letter Mr. Fenwick "accused him [Underwood] of overstating and exaggerating the successes in Korea, and charged further that many were hurriedly baptized who did not understand what rite they

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181 Minutes of the Council of Missions Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government, quoted by R. E. Speer, *Report of the Mission in Korea of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.* p. 17.

182 The part of the letter reprinted in Johnston's book reads as follows: "Two years ago a man named — — — returned from this field to America, and has since been spreading his exaggerated stories throughout the churches in the United States....Let me give you an account of his converting work in a village where I afterward lived for six months, as given me by one whom he baptized on the occasion now mentioned. A native who received mission money was directed by Mr. — — — to get together at least forty or fifty, and he would be along at such a time. Rather perplexed at the number demanded, the native set to work to gather his friends, but could muster only nine. The missionary arrived, and after exhortation at considerable length, asked the natives to remove their hats. 'What for?' said one. 'Oh, never mind,' coaxingly pleaded the native friend; 'take off your hats' and with the politeness so characteristic of the Easterner, they removed their hats, and then the Rev. Mr. — — — , D. D., administered baptism to these nine men, none of whom, with the possible exception of one, he had ever seen,"—James Johnston, *Reality versus Romance in South Central Africa,* pp. 158, 159.

were undergoing."[183] The writer of the letter defended the truth of the contents and his motives for writing it as follows:

"I am deeply sorry I ever penned the...letter, more especially since truth forbids its withdrawal. The letter was penned under conviction that the Church of Christ in America was given to exacting glowing reports from missionaries to bolster up their dishonoring methods of raising money, and in this way hold those contributors who have no part or lot in the Lord's work. It was also penned under the conviction that the church is ever seeking for something of this nature to sustain the delusion inherited from Constantine that the world is growing better....Of course it settles all question as to the truthfulness of my letter when the man who did the baptizing confesses himself a premillenarian, though an out-and-out 'post,' and denies the whole story, and is backed by his wife, his father-in-law in Chicago, a committee in Toronto that has since given up the work entirely, and 'an angry, silly man' who 'should be recalled.' "[184]

Mrs. Underwood, defending her husband, says:

"As...farmers never wear hats around the village, the story bore the stamp of a great mistake at first sight. But there were no witnesses of what Dr. Underwood had really done, except himself and Koreans who could not write for the paper, and so this slander had to go unrefuted, to work its mischief in many minds no doubt too glad to believe a story against missions and missionaries....The young man who wrote the article had been mischievously misinformed by an evilly disposed Korean and when, some years later, he discovered his error, he made reparation in his power, even confessing and apologizing in the pulpit of the missionaries' chapel in Seoul. But the trouble with written and printed slanders is that there are always some who have seen them who will never see a possible refutation and so that error will go on doing its deadly work through all time."[185]

The purpose of the present writer is certainly not for "doing...deadly work." The controversy ended by shifting the responsibility to an "evilly disposed Korean" who had furnished the information. Of course, Dr. Underwood alone could give the truth. It will suffice here to suggest that there was difference of opinion with regard to church discipline among the early missionaries. We have referred to the

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183 L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, p. 127.
184 Letter from Mr. M. C. Fenwick, *The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S., Vol. 7, No. 8 (August, 1894), pp. 618, 619.
185 L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, pp. 618, 619.

election and ordination of the elders of the first Presbyterian church in 1887.[186] Yet in 1897 Dr. Speer reported: "Some elders were ordained in the early stage of the work, before the mission had learned to be cautious, but the result was unsatisfactory, and there are, I believe, none now."[187] It is also true that there were some church members whose character was far from satisfactory. In 1892 Mr. Ohlinger of the Methodist Mission reported that one of the discouraging things was "the continued backsliding" of their oldest converts and leading men. "Adultery, gambling, drunkenness, and theft in various forms have been depleting our classes."[188] The first convert baptized by a Methodist missionary was then "suffering the penalty of a most daring and deep laid plot to rob the [Methodist] press."[189] There was every reason for the missionaries to exercise extreme caution in transferring the ecclesiastical responsibilities to the newly converted Christians.

The foregoing experience impressed the early missionaries so strongly that they made the requirements for church membership much more rigorous. The Methodists "separated the rite of baptism from the reception into church membership,"[190] apparently as a probationary measure. Dr. W. B. Scranton justified the distinction by explaining that whereas baptism was a declaration of acceptance of the faith on the part of the believer, the reception into church membership was an expression of satisfaction in the sincerity of the believer on the part of the church member.[191] Then he adds "by this procedure the reception into church membership became a matter of further hope, incentive, and help to steadfastness, and a means to tide them (the Christians) over their period of early and tender growth."[192] In the Methodist church, therefore, there were four classes of Korean ad-

186 *Supra*, p. 132.
187 R. E. Speer, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
188 M. E. North Report for 1892, p. 286.
189 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
190 *Ibid.*, for 1893, p. 253.
191 Cf. *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
192 *Ibid.*, for 1892, p. 286.

herents: "the first made up of full church members; the second consisting of the baptized probationers, who have all the privileges of church membership save they cannot vote in church meeting and can be dropped without church trial; third, probationers; fourth, inquirers."[193] The Presbyterians adopted a pre-baptismal probation, known as the catechumen class. An adherent of the faith, after having for a certain length of time shown faithfulness and sincerity, was examined by a missionary or missionaries in the rudiments of the Christian religion, and when he proved worthy of being accepted as a Christian he was publicly enrolled as a catechuman and placed in a class for further instruction. After six months' probation the candidate for baptism was reexamined and either admitted, continued, or dropped. But when a man received the rite of baptism, he automatically became a church member. Mr. Moffett "as an experiment....adopted the plan of encouraging applicants to make a tentative or general public profession of their faith as catechumens at least two weeks before the time proposed for admission to full membership. This public committal of professed Christian believers gave opportunity for testing their sincerity."[194] Both the Methodist and Presbyterian plans show the care which the early missionaries had been taught by painful experience to exercise in admitting new members to the infant church.

Public profession gradually became the rule of the Korean church and was a declaration of the standard of conduct which was expected of Christians. We quote from the Rules for the Church in Korea which were read aloud when catechumens were baptized and which were publicly assented to by them at that time.

"These rules are not for those outside of the church, but since they have been made for those inside the church, any one whosoever that believes, and having come into the holy church, is receiving baptism, must of necessity obey them. The only way for outsiders to enter the church is to repent of and forsake their sins, and trust in the Lord.

"1. Since the most High God hates the glorifying and worshipping

193 R. E. Speer, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
194 N. P. Report for 1895, p. 120.

of spirits, follow not the custom of the honoring of ancestral spirits, but worship and obey God alone.

"2. The Lord's Day being the day of rest and God-appointed holy day, let neither man nor beast do any work therein, even to the purchase of one's livelihood; unless it be absolutely necessary work, let nothing be done. Labor diligently six days, and as for this day, observe it strictly.

"3. Since the filial reverencing of parents is something which God has commanded, during the life of your parents piously reverence them, and using all strength be faithful to them as by the command of the Lord.

"4. Since God has appointed one woman for one man, let there be not only no abandoning of each other, but let there be a wife and no concubines, a husband and no lewdness.

"5. Since the doing of the holy doctrine is the first thing to be done, let every person persuade those of his own house, praising and praying, and with one mind trusting and obeying the Lord.

"6. Since God has ordered that we shall live by working, let no one eat and be clothed in idleness. Be not lazy; tell no lies; be not covetous; steal not; but by all means follow an upright livelihood, and using strength, feed yourselves and your families.

"7. The Holy Scriptures not only forbid drunkenness and gambling, but since from these things spring quarreling and fighting and killing and wounding, do not dare to commit them. Also do not make, eat, or sell either wines or opium, and keep not a gambling house, and thus debauch the conduct of men."[195]

SELF-SUPPORT

Besides the rigorous requirements for church membership, self-support and self-extension of the Korean church formed the declared policy of the missionaries. The program of self-support made great progress during the eight years covered by this chapter. Churches were erected at Sorai and Chemulpo with contributions made by Korean Christians. In the capital, the first Methodist Church at Chung Dong and the Presbyterian Church at Sai Moon An were financed largely by Koreans. In 1895, the manager of the Methodist Press reported: "A year will more than make up all that the outfit cost us....Financially the Press has held its ground successfully in spite of its embarrassments and the proceeds have been sufficient to cover all expenses excepting the cost of the

195 Quoted by R. E. Speer, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

matrices."[196] In 1896, the Presbyterian congregation at Pyeng Yang collected enough money to pay current expenses, to help to establish churches elsewhere, and to give to the poor.[197] Dr. Speer gives the following interesting description:

"The last statistical report of the mission for the eleven months ending September 1, 1897, gave the number of communicants at 932, and total native contribution at $971.12 silver; but this did not include, I think, many of their gifts, between one hundred to two hundred dollars to the Indian Relief Fund, and a great deal to other causes. Nor did it include a great deal that the people have furnished themselves for their own work. It did include $260.50 supplied by the people toward the church buildings, which are very cheap, toward which the Board gave nothing. Of the total congregational expenses of $562.68, the people are reported as giving $545.16. It needs to be mentioned also that the great majority of the working force are wholly self-supporting, the mission employing only five helpers apart from teachers, and the most widespread work being done now by the unpaid leaders. Some of the churches not only support all of their own work, but employ evangelists to give all their time to itinerating work."[198]

SELF-EXTENSION

Self-extension went hand in hand with the program of self-support. Unpaid leaders practically took charge of substations in country districts. These sub-stations often set aside a man or two of their number who could preach and sent them out to teach unconverted neighbors or to itinerate In 1897, the Seoul Presbyterian Church sent out severa. members every Sunday to preach and paid their expenses, and the same church opened a mission at Hyangju. The Chang Yen Church, in Whanghai Province, supported a regular evangelist to travel and to carry on work in surrounding districts, and paid his expenses.[199] The official report of the Northern Methodist Mission for 1891 reads: "Our brethren have zeal and perseverance, and they have it without the stimulus of money; they hold meetings, sell books and tracts at markets and on the streets of Seoul and other

196 M. E. North Report for 1895, p. 246.
197 N. P. Report for 1896, p. 163.
198 R. E. Speer, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
199 N. P .Report for 1897, p. 139; R. E. Speer, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

towns, all without monetary remuneration."[200] In 1896, Mrs. D. L. Gilford reported: "We are certainly encouraged by the fact that the native Christian women are learning more and more, in proportion as they realize the difficulties of our position, and the importance and magnitude of the work, to help us bear our burdens by showing a readiness to aid us all they can in carrying out our plans."[201]

The foregoing missionary methods and principles are the essential points of Nevious' system and from the beginning formed the basic practice of the Christian Church in Korea. Dr. Nevious' "Methods of Mission Work" constituted a part of the course of study prescribed for new missionaries.[202] In 1927, Dr. W. M. Baird acknowledged the indebtedness of the Mission to Dr. Nevius in the following words: "His idea had a large influence in determining the methods and principles of our mission during its early years. I believe that if missionaries faithfully and prayerfully and with united hearts employ these methods, their work will be crowned with success."[203]

EDUCATIONAL WORK

The missionary force of this period devoted itself chiefly to itineration and evangelistic work, but schools were not wholly neglected. We have already given an account of the founding of schools in the capital. A recent writer, discussing the history of the early years of the Ewha Haktang, the Methodist Girls' School, declared that "no year-by-year account.....[was] available,"[204] and skipped its history until 1897. However, thanks to Mr. D. L. Gilford, one of the early missionaries, we have the following report of these years:

"When Mrs. Scranton took her furlough, in 1891, the school passed under the care of Miss L. C. Rothweiler, who had been with her since 1887. Later arrivals at the school were Mrs. G. H. Johns (*née* Miss Margaret J. Bengel) in 1891, Misses J. O. Paine and L. E. Frey, and Mrs. Dr. Follwell (formerly Miss M. W. Harris), in 1893. The teach-

200 N. P. Report for 1892, p. 271.
202 Cf. R. E. Speer, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
203 W. M. Baird, "Our Mission in Korea," *The Woman and Missions*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (February, 1927), p. 406.
204 H. H. Underwood, *Modern Education in Korea*, p. 43.

ing force consists of Miss Paine, who has been in charge since 1893, and associated with her, Miss Frey. The Korean assistants are one woman and three pupil teachers. Certain days in the week also Mrs. Bunker teaches them fine sewing and embroidery, and Mrs. Hulbert trains them in vocal music. The puplis number forty-seven boarders and three day-scholars. The average age is twelve years, with ages ranging between eight and seventeen years. English and Unmun [205] are the media through which knowledge is imparted. Elementary Western branches are taught in English; certain Western studies and religious literature are studied in Uumun. English is optional and is taught to perhaps one-third of the girls. The domestic economy of the school is interesting. In addition to the training in sewing and embroidery, native and foreign, mentioned above, the clothes of all are made and cared for by the older girls. Then the school is divided into eight groups according to their rooms, each under a leader and sub-leader, who, turn about, two weeks at a time, clean rooms and school-rooms and assist in the culinary department. The leader in each case is made responsible for all that goes on in the room.....The aim of the school is to give a through Christian education and to make them better Korean women."[206]

Let us now turn our attention to another Methodist school, the Pai Chai Haktang. Mr. Appenzeller, the Principal of the school, in his report for 1891 says: "The educational work of the mission continues to hold a chief place."[207] As a matter of fact, his was the only school worthy of the name and it was imperfect. We feel that the school did not find its proper place in the rapidly changing society in Korea. Mr. Appenzeller expressed his educational aims in various ways during the period. In 1892, he said: "We do not aim to make 'interpreters' and 'operators' in our school, but liberally educated men."[208] But when we inquire whether or not the curriculum and teaching force were adequate to make "liberally educated men" we are at once impressed by the failure to live up to the announced aim. In 1891 the enrollment was only fifty-three.[209] The reason for the decrease could be found in the fact that the demand for interpreters

205 The Korean script.
206 D. L. Gilford, "Education in the Capital of Korea," *The Korean Repository* for August, 1896, pp 409, 310.
207 M. E. North Report for 1891, p. 271.
208 *Ibid.* for 1892, p. 285.
209 *Ibid.* for 1891, p. 271.

decreased, and that the Chinese New Testament[210] was added to the curriculum. Religious instruction was gradually increased[211] and chapel attendance was made compulsory.[212] Following the Sino-Japanese war, the intellectual outlook of the Koreans was revolutionized. A movement for the new learning was in the air. Mr. Appenzeller believed that the school had "a grand opportunity, among others, of preparing Christian and secular teachers for Korea."[213] In March, 1895, the Department of Education of the Korean Government and the school entered upon an agreement[214] whereby the government could send to the school as many as two hundred students. It was also stipulated that not only their tuition but the salaries of certain tutors, in the ratio of one tutor to every fifty students sent, should be paid from the government treasury. This agreement at once increased the number of students[215] and revived the demand for education in English. As the situation changed, Mr. Appenzeller spoke of the new purpose of the school, declaring: "The one aim has been to hold the boys when once we had hold of them, and to do them as much good mentally, morally and spiritually as possible."[216]

The teaching force consisted of Mr. Appenzeller and Korean assistants. In 1894, Mr. W. A. Noble gave some help, but he was compelled to return to America on account of the ill-health of his wife. In 1895, Mr. D. A. Bunker, formerly one of the teachers of the government school, joined the Methodist Mission and had charge of the academic department.[217] As to educational method, the old memory system[218] and the practice of public examination were continued.[219] Moreover, the school did not have a regular curriculum that

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210 M. E. North Report. *op. cit. loc. cit.*
211 *Ibid.*, for 1893. p. 251; for 1894, p. 246.
212 D. L. Gifford, *op. cit*, p. 311.
213 M. E. North Report for 1895. p. 245.
214 For the full text of the agreement, see Appendix.
215 Cf. M. E. North Report for 1896, p. 242; for 1897, p. 246.
216 *Ibid.* for 1886, p. 241.
217 *Ibid.* for 1895, p. 245.
218 *Ibid.* for 1894, p. 246.
219 *Ibid., loc. cit.*

every student was required to pursue. Students in the English department received instruction in such courses as "ancient history, physics, chemistry, political economy,"[220] while those taking Chinese courses were taught by Korean teachers through the medium of Chinese text-books. The Korean tutor in history used Sheffield's Universal History translated into Chinese, but taught it not because he had studied the subject but because he could read Chinese. The obvious result was the age-old one of memorization. In memorizing the Chinese classics one might be expected to acquire literary style, especially when he begins to understand what he had stored in his mind; but memorizing names of men and places phonetically translated into Chinese and read according to Korean pronunciation had little to be said in its defence. The courses given in Korean generally consisted of instruction in religious treatises such as catechisms, which were not easily understood by the students. The whole educational system was yet in its early infancy.

Perhaps one of the most educating influences was the series of popular lectures delivered by Dr. Philip Jaisohn.[221] He covered various subjects, including history, geography, economics, politics, and religion. Under his leadership a debating society was organized in the school and discussions were held on problems of the nation, much as their seniors were doing in the Independence Club.[222] Students took an active part in public affairs on occasions such as the king's procession to the new palace,[223] and the ceremony of laying the cornerstone of the Independence Arch.[224] "The independence of Korea has upward of 200 youth now in training to defend her to the death." The youthful students took great pleasure in gymnastics. The rise of national feeling

220 M. E. North Rhport for 1894, p. 246.
221 The lecturer is none other than Soh Chai Pil, a young leader in the émeute in December, 1884. After the failure of the *coup*, he had come to America where he received education and citizenship. He was now serving as an adviser to the Korean government.
222 A political reform organization initiated by Dr. Jaisohn and other progressive leaders.
223 M. E. North Report for 1897, p. 245.
224 *Ibid., loc. cit.*

also created a new spirit among them. In 1897, the principal reported that "the *esprit de corps* of the school was never so good as now. There is a Pai Chai feeling, a kind of school pride which I had never noticed before."[225] The students soon adopted foreign clothing and head gear. Mr. Appenzeller says: "There is hope. But the Argus eye of a 'friendly' power[226] has largely taken mental note of this new movement to educate the youth in parliamentary law and to take an interest in the live topics of the day."[227]

The Pai Chai school had made various experiments in an industrial program. Perhaps the first attempt was the creation of a department for the manufacture of brush pens and straw sandals. Mr. Gilford speaks of it as follows: "The superintendent once explained to the writer....that he had remarked that men who bought the pens his scholars made never came back any more. With Oriental politeness they explained to him that the pens were excellent, only they would not write. He thought it must have been something the same way with the shoes. At all events it was not long before his shoe and pen factory went into bankruptcy."[228] However, following the establishment of the press, students were employed in the printing plant. As students increased in number, new branches of industry were added. In 1896,[229] a book bindery was established in connection with the press. The attempt was so successful that in 1897 the income amounted to $151.59.[230] The superintendent of the school says: "The industrial department of the school is thus not only on a sound financial basis, but an actual monetary advantage to the mission."[231]

The educational efforts of the Presbyterian Mission during the period were almost negligible. We have already seen that, in 1890, Mr. S. A. Moffett took charge of the orphanage

225 M. E. North Report for 1897, p. 247.
226 Meaning Japan.
227 M. E. North Report for 1897, p. 247.
228 D. L. Gilford, *op. cit.*, p. 311.
229 M. E. North Report for 1896, p. 237.
230 *Ibid.* for 1897, p. 246.
231 M. E. North Report for 1897, p. 246.

and changed it into a school.[232] In order to maintain the dignity of a school it was called the "Yesu Kyo Hak Tang" (Jesus Doctrine School)[233] and students were required to pay the whole or a part of their school expenses. In the following year there were in the school the unimpressive number of twenty-four students, of whom ten were fed and clothed by the mission.[234] The curriculum was in harmony with the name, for it consisted of the Bible in Chinese, the Ten Commandments, the Life of Jesus in verse, and on Sundays the school was turned into a Sunday school.[235] The report of the school in 1893 declared that the students were "a selected band of boys of the lower class in Korea."[236] We believe they were both "selected" and "lower class;" however, the selection was not by scholastic ability but according to the destitution of the class from which they were drawn. In 1893, Mr. F. S. Miller succeeded Moffett in the headship of the institution, when the latter went to Pyeng Yang to open the mission station there.[237] Mr. Moffett contemplated introducing industrial work for the boys "in order that those who go forth may possess the means of acquiring a suitable livelihood and of gaining that influence which will enable them to utilize their educational advantages."[238] When Mr. Miller took change of it, the only industrial feature of the school was janitor work, sawing wood, and making sieves. It is not necessary to point out how little the "industrial" work helped these boys "to utilize their educational advantages." The aim of the school was "the preparation of preachers and teachers who shall bear the truth to their countrymen."[239]

Following the Sino-Japanese war, there was a marked increase of students.[240] This increase was undoubtedly due

232 *Supra.* p. 122.
233 D. L. Gilford, "Education in the Captial of Korea," *The Korean Repository* for August, 1896, p. 308.
234 N. P. Report for 1893, pp. 176, 177.
235 *Ibid.* for 1892, pp. 177, 177.
136 *Ibid.* for 1893, p. 144.
137 *Ibid.* for 1894, p. 159.
238 N. P. Report for 1893, p, 144.
239 *Ibid.*, for 1897, p. 141.
240 *Ibid.* for 1897, p. 141.

to the victory of the Japanese, who had defeated China with arts and weapons borrowed from the West. The Koreans began to respect the West and to take a great interest in all that pertained to it or came from it. In the meantime the progressive leaders were lecturing on political subjects almost day and night. The younger generation, who were deeply imbued with nationalism,[241] sought schools established by Westerners for the new learning. The demand for education was so great that in 1896, the mission decided to extend its educational program and for that purpose transferred Mr. W. M. Baird from Fusan to Seoul.[242] It seems that there grew out of this some misunderstanding between the mission and Mr. Miller. It appears that the mission planned to have Baird take charge of the school, as he was better qualified for the position, and relieve Miller for evangelistic work in the south. Mr. Miller, however, seemed to believe that Mr. Baird was transferred to assist him in the increasing school work. Consequently neither of them gave his entire attention to the school, but divided his energy between educational and evangelistic work. At the annual meeting of the Northern Pres-

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241 The platform of the *Independent*, the first vernacular newspaper started by Dr. Philip Jaisohn reads: "Korea for the Koreans, clean politics, the cementing of foreign friendships, the gradual development of Korean resources with Korean capital as far as possible, under foreign tutorage, the speedy translation of foreign textbooks into Korean that the youth may have access to the great things of history, science, art, and religion without having to acquire a foreign tongue, and long life to His Majesty, the King."—*The Korean Repository* for April, 1896, p. 171.

242 N. P. Report for 1897, p. 140. The report of the annual meeting reads as follows: "The mission was led to decide upon a scheme by which we hope to extend and develop the educational department of our work, in the vernacular, and upon a Christian basis. The children of Christian parents are to be given education; and the mission has decided upon plans for the establishment of a school where this may be had. Although we hope to find many of the Christian boys deciding for the ministry, still it could scarcely be hoped that all the Christian boys should be educated for the ministry. Therefore it was thought that those not thus called, should not be denied the privilege of a Christian education. For the proper enlargement and development of the Boys' School under this scheme, the Rev. W. M. Baird was called from the Fusan station to Seoul. A Committee to confer with the brethren of the Southern Presbyterian Mission, on the practicability of uniting in the educational scheme—was appointed" *The Korean Repository* for November, 1896, pp. 456, 457.

byterian Mission in October of 1897, an end was put to the feeble institution.[243]

There were several causes for closing the school. The official report of the Presbyterian Board placed the responsibility upon the backwardness of the Korean people. It reads: "The Korea mission is wrestling with the various educational problems incidental to the early stage of the mission work. In the uncertainty as to the real needs of the people and the best methods for meeting their actual wants, they are proceeding cautiously, not committing themselves to a definite policy....The conditions at the capital are not the most favorable for such a school; neither is there yet a demand among the Korean Christians for a higher grade of education, so the school has been closed".[244] Dr. Robert E. Speer, who was present at the meeting when this decision was made, gives almost identical reasons: (1) The evangelistic work is imperatively urgent; (2) there is little demand from the native Christians as yet for higher education;[245] (3) the old school had not been satisfactory; (4) there was no one available who was adequately qualified for just the work needing to be done."[246] We feel that the last two reasons were the real ones. The school was not satisfactory. The name itself marked it as so distinctively sectarian that people of the higher classes would not send their children to it. The curriculum consisted almost entirely of propagandist literature which the boys could not understand. The teaching force was very inadequate. They not only failed to employ respectable Korean teachers, but used their own students as instructors.[247] The teaching of English was

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243 C. C. Vinton, "The Presbyterian Annual Meeting," *The Korean Repository* for September, 1997, p. 339.
244 N. P. Report for 1897, p. 160.
245 In the same report, Dr. Speer, however, declares: "The Gospel has proved a great intellectual stimulus to the native Christians." —R. E. Speer, *Report of the Mission in Korea of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in 1887*, p. 25.
246 *Ibid.*, p. 22.
247 N. P. Report for 1896.

entirely done away with.[248] Undue emphasis was placed on religion.[249] No adequate building was provided, as in the Methodist school. The industrial feature of the school was of such a nature that it could not win the respect of the people. When the missionaries came to the field, their main task was to learn the language. As soon as they could use the language, they were sent to do evangelistic work in the country, and the new arrivals who did not know the language and the people were often placed in charge of the school. Consequently the real work was done by the Korean teachers. But on account of the lack of funds and the rigidly exclusive nature of the school, competent teachers could not be employed. Last of all, as the Board frankly admitted: "It is a matter of regret that the resources of the Board are wholly inadequate to meet this manifest want."[250] A recent writer places the blame for the closing of the school on the Mission Board, especially on the secretary who visited the mission in 1897. "It was closed," says the author, "with the advice and approval of a secretary of the Board who was then visiting Korea. The report made to the Board states that it was 'by the almost unanimous vote of the mission,' but omits to state that Dr. Underwood, the founder, and Dr. Avison, both of whom proved to be leaders in educational work, voted against its closing."[251] Dr. Speer, the Board Secretary who was referred to, in turn laid the responsibility for the closing of the school on the want of "the right man to organize and inspire" the school work.[252] He reported: "The industrial ideas some

248 "The mission does not believe in schools for the teaching of English —at least for themselves."—*The Korean Repository* for November, 1895, p. 442.

249 "The conduct of the boys' and girls' schools in Seoul along the lines of primary education under strong religious influence, met with general approval."—*Ibid.* for November, 1895, p. 442.

250 N. P. Report for 1897, p. 141.

251 H. H. Underwood, *Modern Education in Korea*, pp. 50-52. We are not to discredit the foresight of Dr. H. G. Underwood or of Dr. Avison, nor to defend Dr. Speer. The statement raises an academic question. The writer does not give his authority for the statement that the school was closed "with the advice and approval of" the secretary who visited Korea, nor does he cite his source of information that Drs. Underwood and Avison voted against the proposal. Moreover, Dr. Speer did not state that the vote was unanimous. If it should have been necessary for him to

have advocated I do not believe in, and the problems of a manual element in the school, the place of Chinese in its curriculum, etc., are secondary questions which the right man will be let to settle in due time."[253] We believe Dr. Speer's view was correct.

The Presbyterian school for girls had a better history than the boys' school. However, H. H. Underwood[254] entirely ignores its existance during the period. As we have already noted, in 1890, the school was placed in charge of

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report all those who voted against the motion, Dr. W. M. Baird should be included among those who voted against it. And Dr. Baird too "proved to be [one of the] leaders in educational work." Dr. H. G. Underwood's primary interest during the period was in evangelism, not education. We support this conclusion in the light of his subsequent actions, for when the school was reopened it was called the *John D. Wells Training School for Christian Workers*, revealing, of course, Dr. Underwood's leaning toward evangelism rather than general education. Again Dr. Underwood's own apologetics for the educational policy sustains our contention, for he wrote: "The opportunities for evangelistic work being large and more numerous than they, the missionaries, were able to attend to, schools for evangelistic purposes, much as they might have helped, were not needed in Korea."—H. G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, p. 112.

252 R. E. Speer, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

253 R. E. Speer, *op. cit.*, p. 23. The only "best qualified man" for the school work among the missionary force at that time, in Dr. Speer's opinion, was Mr. James Adams not Dr. Underwood, nor Mr. Miller, nor Mr. Baird.—R. E. Speer, *op. cit.*, p. 23. In regard to the location of the school, Dr. Speer reported: "Whether Seoul is the proper place for a school...is a hard question. It is a demoralizing place to country boys, and it is a long overland journey from the South and the North." Thus, as early as 1897, the long-drawn-out controversy of school location (see H. H. Underwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-134) had begun. H. H. Underwood, answering A. J. Brown's statement that "the Korea missions were late in beginning educational work," (A. J. Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East*, p. 553) supported the missionaries, stating that the educational work could not have been begun earlier than it was, and that it was the policy of the mission board which thwarted the extensive educational program—H. H. Underwood, *op. cit.*, p. 22.) However, Underwood admits the fact that great stress was not at the beginning laid on educational work, but he neglects to observe that the delay of educational work was due to lack of a man or men. Without referring to like work in China and Japan, the educational work of the Presbyterian Mission in Korea, compared with its sister mission, the Methodist, in teaching force, curriculum, equipment, and general management, was inferior during the period. We feel that if the early missionaries had inaugurated an aggressive educational program, the Mission Board would have supported the work.

254 Cf. H. H. Underwood, *Modern Education in Korea*, pp. 21, 58.

Miss Susan A. Doty. We cannot give a better summary of the work of the institution than that of Mr. Gilford :

"She [Miss Doty] was joined in 1892 by Misses E. Strong and V. C. Arbuckle, who two years later left the school, the former on account of ill health, the latter in order to take up the work of nursing in the Government Hospital. The location of the girls' school was formerly in the Foreign Settlement, but the fall of.... (1895) saw them domiciled in their new home at Yon-mot-kol.... two miles away from the former site, on the eastern side of the city. And with a plan of buildings far better suited to the needs of the institution....It is (also) an evangelistic center which attracts to it Korean women from the regions round about. So, connected with the school, is a chapel where women are daily met for religious teaching and a dispensary, visited periodically by a lady physician."[255]

In 1892 it was reported that there were ten girls and the following year there were nine, but after the war between Japan and China the number increased to twenty-eight.[256] In 1896 Miss K. C. Wambold, a newly arrived missionary, joined Miss Doty in the school work. Besides these missionaries, one or two Korean women assistants were employed. The course of instruction was in Chinese before the war, but after it all instruction was given through the medium of the Korean script.[257]

As the evangelistic work spread in the interior, educational work followed. The educational efforts at Fusan were begun by the ladies of the Victoria church. In 1899, Mrs. Bertha K. Irvin started a night school for girls, to teach them to read.[258] Mrs. Swallen undertook a similar work at Wonsan, in 1896, to teach girls "to read well, to sing, and to commit scripture passages."[259] In the spring of 1895 a day school at Sorai was begun under the guidance of Mr. McKenzie.[260] The school at Pyeng Yang was started in 1894. Dr. Moffett says :

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255 D. L. Gilford, *op cit.*, p. 307.
257 D. L. Gilford, *Every-Day Life in Korea*, p. 186.
257 Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 187.
258 Personal report of Mrs. K. B. Irvin for 1897 in manuscript, The Presbyterian Board archives.
259 Personal report of Mrs. W. L. Swallen for 1897 in manuscript, *ibid.*
260 Elizabeth A McCully, *A Corn of Wheat* (The Life of Rev. W. J. McKenzie), pp. 158, 159.

"Two months after the first baptism,[261] we established a school for the children of the Christians, the first boys' school, from which had developed all of our numerous schools enrolling thousands of pupils. After considerable persuasion, the teacher, a classical scholar, was induced to teach eunmoon (the native script) as well as Chinese, and the parents induced to subscribe for the expenses."[262]

MEDICAL WORK

The medical work of the period was carried on in hospitals and dispensaries in the capital, and by travelling missionary physicians. The Presbyterian or Government Hospital had a varied history. When Dr. Heron died in 1890, Dr. C. C. Vinton took charge of the institution, but on account of the restrictions placed upon religious work in the hospital Dr. Vinton opened a dispensary in a room in his own house.[263] At the same time the work of the government hospital was greatly crippled by the embezzlement by government officials of funds provided for drugs.[264] In January, 1897, the private dispensary was transferred to the building which had formerly been used as the girls' school.[265] As the demands in the interior for doctors grew, Dr. Vinton made frequent trips into the country, leaving the hospital work unsupplied. The Presbyterian Board sent a young teacher in the Medical School of Toronto University, O. R. Avison, to Korea to take charge of the hospital. Dr. and Mrs. Avison with their family arrived on the field in July, 1893. Upon his arrival at Seoul, Dr. Avison undertook the work of the government hospital. He at once got rid of a superfluous body of servants and clerks who were a hinderance rather than a help. He received renewed assurance of the financial support and encouragement of the government. Dr. Avison was soon employed by

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261 The first baptism was administered on January 8, 1894,—S. A. Moffett, "Early Days in Pyeng Yang," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 21, No. 3, (March, 1925), p. 54.
262 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
263 M. P. Report for 1892, p. 177.
264 *Ibid.* for 1893, p. 145.
265 *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

the royal household and the government gave increased opportunity for religious work in connection with the hospital.[266] In the same year Mrs. H. G. Underwood opened the Hugh O'Niel, Jr. Memorial Dispensary for treatment of women and children. The year 1895 was eventful in the history of the government hospital. In spite of the assurances given in the previous years, conditions went from bad to worse. The report of 1895 reads:

"Dr. Avison, who had been placed in charge of the Government Hospital, was so thwarted and crippled by the corruption of the native officials who had gained a controlling influence in the hospital, where they purloined the funds appropriated by the government for its support and tyranized over the physician in charge, that he finally resigned all connection with the institution, refusing to have anything to do with it unless some remedy could be found for these evils. Soon after....the King, who had been from the first desirous of promoting as far possible the work in the hospital, was enabled to carry out such measures of reform as gave new encouragement, and through the efforts of the U. S. Legation, particularly with the personal influence of Dr. H. N. Allen, who was well acquainted with the King and high officials, such terms and guarantees were obtained that Dr. Avison consented to resume charge of the institution. By the terms of agreement all the Korean officials residing in the hospital and preying upon its funds were removed, and absolute direction was given to the missionary physician."[267]

However, the new arrangements were not very satisfactory and, in 1895, the hospital was completely reorganized. The Mission assumed financial responsibility for the work and added to the medical staff Miss Georgiana Whiting, M. D. and Miss Anna P. Jecobson. New assistants were employed from the Presbyterian Boys' School. Thus the hospital became a missionary institution.[268]

The medical work at Fusan was begun by Dr. and Mrs. Hugh Brown, both of whom were trained physicians. After their return to America on account of Dr. Brown's ill-health, Dr. C. H. Irvin succeeded to the work in 1893. Although Dr. Irvin could not treat many surgical cases on account of the

266 N. P. Report for 1894, p. 157.
267 *Ibid.* for 1895, p. 123.
268 N. P. Report for 1896, p. 164.

want of ward accommodations,[269] he reached a large number of the people.[270] Dr. J. Hunter Wells arrived in Korea in 1895. After his successful work at Seoul during the cholera epidemic of that year, [271] he went to Pyeng Yang in 1896 and opened the Presbyterian Mission Hospital in that city.

The changes in the medical work of the Methodists during the period resulted in the consolidation of their work. The original hospital at Chung Dong, established by Dr. W. B. Scranton, was removed to Sang Dong in 1894.[272] Thus Dr. Scranton was left free for evangelistic and literary work, and Dr. J. B. Busteed, who had come to Korea in 1892, was placed in charge of the work. The Methodist Women's Hospital gained popularity among the Korean women. Dr. Rosetta Sherwood carried on the work until she married Dr W.J. Hall and removed to Pyeng Yang to open a mission station there. Dr. Mary M. Cutler succeeded her in the work in Seoul. Dr. Hall opened medico-evangelistic work in the interior at Pyeng Yang, in 1892. His wife opened the first women's dispensary in Pyeng Yang in May, 1894.[273] Their work at Pyeng Yang was soon interrupted by the Sino-Japanese war, by the lamented death of Dr. Hall and the return of Mrs. Hall to America. However, the Hall Memorial Hospital was erected with the funds left by Dr. Hall. Dr. E. Douglas Follwell opened medical work in a new hospital in February, 1897.[274] In Wonsan, Dr. William McGill carried on medical and evangelistic work and practiced among the foreigners connected with the customs service.[275]

Medical service to the king and queen of Korea was still rendered by Dr. Avison and Mrs. Underwood, respectively. In 1895 the king presented to Dr. Avison three hundred dollars "as an expression of gratitude for those kindly

269 N P. Report for 1896, p. 166.
270 The number of cases treated during 1895-1896 was 7,021.—*Ibid., loc. cit.* 232.
271 *Infra*, p.
272 M. E. North Report for 1895, p. 246.
273 Rosetta Hall, "The Past of Medical Work in Korea," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 10, No. 7 (July, 1894), p. 218.
274 *The Korean Repository* for May, 1896, p. 214.
275 M. E. Report for 1896, p. 240.

services,"[276] and the queen sent an equal amount to Mrs. Underwood "besides the usual gifts of pheasants, eggs etc. with the request that Mrs. Underwood spend it for pearls for herself and for a present for her little son."[277]

We have already noted that Dr. I Wiles of the Anglican Mission gave his services freely at the Methodist Hospital in Seoul. When the Church of England Mission purchased property in the southern quarter of the city, known as Naktong, the Hospital of St. Matthew was attached. "The erection of the hospital in 1892-4 was largely made possible by the generosity of Surgeon-General Wiles,.... who[had]volunteered to give his honorary service for two years, to inaugurate the work of the Hospital Naval Fund in Corea ; and who, after prolonging his stay a year beyond his original promise, handed the work over to Dr. E. H. Baldock, his successor, in 1893."[278] The Anglican church opened medical work at Chemulpo as early as 1890, when Dr. E. B. Landis, "the keen young Pennsylvania doctor who had attached himself to the Bishop [Corfe] on his journey across America," [279] fitted up a room at his abode as a temporary dispensary. In the following year a small hospital under his direction was opened just outside the foreign settlement. He also served as physician among the foreigners connected with the customs service. During the war between China and Japan, Dr. Landis rendered charitable service to the survivors of the Chinese gunboats and received from the Chinese Emperor the order of the Double Dragon.[280] In connection with Dr. Landis' work we must mention his opening a little school for orphaned Korean boys in 1892. The good doctor served the Mission until he contracted typhus and died (April, 1898).[281]

The medical work of the missionaries was gradually gaining the approval of the masses. In earlier years, as we

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276 N. P. Report for 1896, p. 165.
277 L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, p. 146.
278 M. N. Trollope, *The Church in Corea*, pp. 37, 38.
279 M. N. Trollope, *op. cit.*, p. 35. Cf. *supra*, p.
280 M. N. Trollope, "Eli Barr Landis, M. D.," *The Korean Repository* for May, 1898, p. 182.
281 For life sketch of Dr. Landis, see *ibid.*, pp. 180-188.

have noted, people were not ready to submit themselves to surgical operations, but it was now surgery that enlisted the admiration of the Korean doctors and patients.[282] The widespread response of the people changed the aim of medical work. At the beginning of missionary labor, hospitals and dispensaries served as the means of disarming the prejudices of the people and winning their confidence, but now medical establishments became important evangelistic institutions.[283] They also became educational institutions for training Korean physicians.[284] Hospitals further served as an aid in breaking down the age-old custom of the seclusion of women. Dr. Rosetta Sherwood, later Mrs. Hall, reported : "Quite often at my morning clinic, I have had women from the higher class who have come in closed chairs. They always inform me that it is a great exception for them to go, but their disease was difficult, and they had heard that I was a very wise doctor, and therefore they came."[285]

PREACHING BY DEEDS

Opportunities to serve needy humanity are ever present for those who are willing to seize them, An epidemic of Asiatic cholera visited the country in 1895. Dr. O. R. Avison, who himself rendered sacrificial service, writes as follows of the part that the missionaries took :

"It was....July and August 1895, that the epidemic of Cholera which followed the Japano-Chinese war broke out and afforded the medical missionaries a special opportunity to show the value of their calling to the stricken people. Dr. Avison's relation to the government and court led to his being summoned to the Home Departmant for a conference over the matter, resulting in the government's giving him full power to go ahead and fight the epidemic. He was entrusted with funds and the command of policemen and with the help of his own and other missions, a stiff fight was put up over a period of seven weeks, during

282 C. C. Vinton, "A Surgeon's Experience," *The Church at Home and Abroad* for September, 1891, p. 223 ; *The Gospel in All Lands* for September, 1894, p. 417.
283 *The Gospel in All Lands* for September, 1894, p. 417.
284 *Ibid., loc. cit.*; R. E. Speer, Report of the Mission in Korea in 1897, p. 28.
285 *The Missionaries of the World*, N. S., Vol. 5, No. 1 (Jan. 1892), p. 58.

which time many thousands of patients were treated in the hospital and in their houses....However cholera means quick death in many cases and little could be done to cure those afflicted, but a more important thing was possible—the education of the people as to the true nature and cause of the disease and how to prevent it. Thousands of pamphlets in the native language were printed and distributed with this end in view. Indeed, it has been constantly one of the chief aims of the medical fraternity not only to heal but to teach, to enlighten and to save the people from the disastrous results of the notion that evil spirits are the cause of disease."[286]

The Korean government readily appreciated the unselfish and sacrificial services of the missionaries and publicly acknowledged its gratitude.[287]

During the exciting days following the assassination of the queen the missionaries had further opportunity to show their spirit of service, and they gave protection to the king and saved the lives of many political refugees. The king was virtually a prisoner at the hands of traitors and his person was in constant danger. He refused to take food prepared for him at the palace, lest it might be poisoned, and the foreign legations and missionary homes sent in food for him.[288] As the danger increased, the king desired some foreigners to stay in the palace near his chamber to protect his person and to be witnesses in case any harm should befall him. The American legation thereupon requested the three American missionaries, Underwood, Avison, and Hulbert,[289] to spend the night near the king's person. When the midnight attack on the king's chamber was signaled, these missionaries rushed to the king's side and saved his life.[290]

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286 O. R. Avison, *History of Medical Work in Korea*, Quatro Centennial Papers read before the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., pp. 35, 36. For a fuller account of the work, see *idem*, "Cholera in Seoul," *The Korean Repository* for September, 1895, pp. 339, 344.

287 N. P. Report for 1896, pp. 166, 167; M. E. North Report for 1995, pp. 246, 247.

288 L. H. Underwood, *Fifteen Years Among the Top-Knots*, p. 156.

289 G. H. Jones and J. S. Gale were not present on this occasion, but had been taking their turns in the service to the king....J. S. Gale, *Korean Sketches*, p. 206.

290 L. H. Underwood, *op. cit*, pp. 153-162. For other kindly deeds in giving protection to a prince and a general, see *Ibid.*, pp. 163-166. The part that American missionaries played at this time was a

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

One of the chief missionary methods during the years covered by this chapter was the preparation and distribution of Christian literature. Religious books, treatises, and leaflets formed an important equipment of the missionary itinerant. The demand for literature was great, Mr. Underwood, writing in 1888 to Mr. John Ross, who had translated and published the "Corean Catechism," applied for "at least 1,000" copies of the book.[291] The Korean Religious Tract Society was so successful that in its first annual report

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matter of common mercy, but not of politics. The Russian and the Japanese governments, however, criticized missionaries for interfering in politics. "At lenth, unwillingly, and upon repeated orders from the department of State, the American Minister sent to every American citizen in Korea the following notice which was also published in the *Independent* (Seoul, May 15, 1897):

'Legation of the United States,
Seoul, Korea, May 11,1897.

Sir:—

By direction of the Secretary of State I am required to make publicly known to every citizen of the United States sojourning or being temporaily or permanently in Korea, the repeatedly expressed view of the Government of the United States that it behooves loyal citizens of the United States in any foreign country whatever to observe the same scrupulous abstention frompar ticipating in the domestic concerns thereof which is internationally incumbent upon his government. They should strictly refrain from any expression of opinion or from giving advice concerning the internal management of the country, or from intermeddling in its political questions. If they do so, it is at their own risk and peril. Neither the representative of this government in the country of their sojourn, nor the Government of the United States itself, can approve of any such action on their part, and should they disregard this advice it may perhaps not be found practicable to adequately protect them from their own conequences. Good American citizens, quitting their own land and resorting to another, can best display their devotion to the country of their allegiance and best justify a claim to its continued and efficient protection while in foreign parts, by confining themselves to their legitimate avocations, whether missionary work, or teaching in schools, or attending the sick, or other calling or business for which they resort to a foreign country.

I am Sir,

Yours respectfully,
JOHN M. B. SILL,

Minister Resident and Consul General'"

T. Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*. pp. 571, 572.

291 Annual Report of Religious Tract Society of London for 1890, p. 196.

in 1885 it stated that 890,000 pages of tracts and leaflets had been published at a cost of $ 1,088.[292] The president of the society reported in the following year that "32,600 books and tracks were ordered by the Executive Committee during the year to be printed. The custodian reported the sale of 17,654 books and leaflet tracts."[293] The observance of a Sunday as the "Korean Religious Tract Society Day" was introduced into the Korean churches, and collections were received for the work of the organization.[294] A special meeting of the foreign community in Seoul was called in November, 1895, "to consider the condition and need of Christian literature,[295] and A. Kenmure and C. C. Vinton were appointed a committee "to draw up a scheme for a Christian literature for the Korean reading public."[296] This committee's survey of the need and demand for reading materials revealed the theories on which the missionaries who were producing Christian literature were writing. Although they could read no Chinese, they rightly guessed that the literature which had been prepared for the Chinese mind would be suited to the Koreans.[297] A large quantity of Chinese tracts and treatises were imported for the learned class, and missionaries directed the translation of them into Korean. *The Saving Faith Catechism* by Mrs. H. S. C. Nevius, translated by H. G. Underwood, *Leading the Family in the Way*, and *Salient Priniples of Christianity* are examples of this class.

Another literary theory was also advanced by a missionary at this time. He declares: "The Oriental mind, whether possessed by literati or coolie, is cast in the same mould. They all think alike in figures, symbols, pictures. For this reason I believe that allegory and suggestive literature must have a special place with them".[298] Mr. Gale, therefore, with the as-

292 The Korean Repository for February, 1895, p. 75.
293 *Ibid.* for October, 1896, p. 415.
294 *Ibid. loc. cit.*
295 *The Korean Repository* for February, 1897, p. 60.
296 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
297 *Ibid.*, p. 62.
298 J. S. Gale, "A Few Words on Literature," *Ibid.* for September, 1895, p. 424.

sistance of his wife and his Korean teacher, translated a part of "Pilgrim's Progress" in 1894.[299]

Another feature of the literary work of the period was the beginning of research into Korean history, literature, social customs, religion, and language. In order to preserve the results of the pioneer missionaries' painstaking work on these subjects, the *Korean Repository*, a monthly magazine, was edited by Franklin Ohlinger and published by the Trilingual Press. Incidentally, this periodical gave employment to students of the Methodist boys' school.[300] Publication of the *Repository* was interrupted from 1893 to 1895, but in the latter year it was undertaken again under the co-editorship of Mr. Appenzeller and Mr. Jones and continued four more years. These volumes form an important literary treasure and an invaluable historical source for the period which they cover. The first Christian periodicals also appeared during these years. In 1897, Dr. Underwood began under his own initiative *The Christian News*,[301] and the *Methodist Christian Advocate* was first issued in the same year.[302] These papers contained the Sunday School lessons, missionary news, notes on farming, arts, and science, and prayer-meeting talks.

The literary work of the period peculiarly illustrates the effect on Korean Christianity of the missionary methods employed. Those who wrote treatises on Christian subjects unconsciously produced what C.C. Vinton terms a "clique spirit" among the Christians. The Korean people are divided into four groups according to their occupation: scholars, agriculturists, artisans, and traders. The scholar class has been the ruling group. When the missionaries entered the country, it was natural that they should select their language helpers from this class. In the preparation of Christian literature, these helpers played an important part. They did not intend to retain the benefits of Christianity within the scholar group alone. The Chinese literary style, however, is not readily

299 M. E. North Report for 1894, p. 249.
300 M. E. North Report for 1891, pp. 272, 273.
301 L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, pp. 167, 168.
302 M. E. North Report for 1897, pp. 239, 242.

understood by the common people. As a result, the impression was conveyed by "implication that the church was an intellectual community, whose teachings were above the grasp of common people."[303] The "clique spirit" grew among the Christians in the following years, but it was not so much due to literature as to other missionary methods which we shall describe later.

LANGUAGE HELPS

In passing, we must record the work done by Mr. J. S. Gale and Mrs. W. M. Baird in their books on language study. In 1894, Mr. Gale wrote "Korean Grammatical Forms;" which was devoted to the study of the chief verbal forms of the language.[304] The same author's work on a Korean-English Dictionary was completed in 1896 and was published in Japan in the following year. The work was the basis of his later enlarged edition. The first part of the book was devoted to 40,000 Korean words with English definitions, and the second part to 11,000 Chinese characters with the Korean pronunciation. Mrs. Baird, a gifted lady, published a very useful little book called "Fifty Helps" for the beginners of the language. The little volume proved so useful that it was put through several editions.[305]

THE TRI-LINGUAL PRESS

It should be recalled that the Methodist Mission established in Seoul what was called the Tri-lingual Press. The purpose of this printing establishment was to prepare "Christian literature to be disseminated among the natives and foreigners in Korea. The problem has been to produce tracts, leaflets, books etc., in as neat a form and at as cheap a price as can be done by other firms in the East, who are prepared to print in Korean."[306] After the departure of Mr. Ohlinger in 1893, Mr. Homer B. Hulbert, who had joined the

303 C. C. Vinton, "Obstacles to Missionary Success in Korea," *The Korean Repository* for November, 1895, p. 840.
304 *Ibid.* for February, 1895, p. 74.
305 J. S. Gale, "The Literary Work of Twenty Five Years," *Quarto Centennial* Paper, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
306 M. E. North Report for 1894, p. 248.

Mission in the same year, was placed in charge of the press. In spite of the uncertainty of labor under war conditions, in 1894 the press reported the printing of nearly two million pages.[307] The work had made such rapid progress that it was self-supporting except for the cost of equipment. When the missionaries gradually ceased itinerant work and settled in the interior, the demand for literature decreased and, in 1896, the work showed some decline.[308] The progress of Bible translation, however, and the printing of Sunday school materials and general printing kept the press comparatively busy. The bindery, introduced in 1896 as an industrial department of the Methodist boys' school, worked together with the press. In 1891, the Methodist Mission opened a book store, the future "Methodist Book Concern."[309]

HYMNOLOGY

We have already said that singing had become a part of the Christian service of worship. Hymns were, however, sung to Western tunes and Mr. Gale rightly observed; "our style of music is meaningless as yet to the native. As far as sound and expression goes he thinks 'Gwine Back to Dixie' a better hymn on the whole than 'Rock of Ages."[310] These hymns were not translated into idiomatic Korean, nor were they poetical.

The history of the collection and publication of the hymn book is an interesting one. The Presbyterian and the Methodist Missions favored the compilation of a union hymnal and G. H. Jones of the Methodist Mission and H. G. Underwood of the Presbyterian Mission were appointed a committee to prepare one. Soon after his appointment, however, Mr. Jones returned to America. The enthusiastic Underwood went ahead by himself and collected such hymns as he could find. As his wife tells us, he then printed his manuscritpt in

307 M. E. North Report for 1894, p. 249.
308 *Ibid.*, for 1896, p. 237.
309 *Ibid.*, for 1891, p. 271.
310 J. S. Gale, "A Few Words on Literature," *The Korean Repository* for November, 1895, p. 424.

Japan without the knowledge of his fellow missionaries,as he "glowed with the thought of the delightful surprise"[311] his co-workers would receive at the annual meeting. When the project was made known to the missionaries at the meeting, he certainly gave them a great surprise, but received an equally great one himself when the Mission entirely rejected the book. The grounds for the rejection of Underwood's collection were that it was contrary to the previous arrangement for a union hymn book, that Mr. Underwood did not secure permission for the use of translations made by others which he had used and had freely corrected, and that the term for God, which was then in controversy, was omitted throughout the book and either Father or Jehovah was substituted. Happily the money for the publication had been advanced by his generous brother, so that the Mission as a whole did not suffer any financial loss. While some of the missionaries used the book in their churches, a fresh committee was working on a new book. The Methodists appointed their own committee, Mr. G.H. Jones and Miss Rothweiler who compiled a Methodist hymnal in 1896.[312] Thus in 1896 there were "three hymn-books in active circulation among the church."[313]

BIBLE WORK

We have already referred to the organization and work of the Permanent Bible Committee and its sub-committees. In May, 1893, the constitution of the Committee was revised and amended and the Permanent Bible Committee was changed into the Permanent Executive Bible Committee, and the Translating Committee was transmuted into the Board of Official Translators, while the General Revising Committee was abolished. The Permanent Executive Bible Committee, which was composed of representatives of Protestant Evangelical missions, had "in charge the translation, revision, publication, and conservation of the Holy Scriptures in the Korean

311 L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, p. 122.
312 M. E. North Report for 1896, p. 241.
313 *The Korean Repository* for September, 1896, p. 376.

language,"[314] and had "authority to select a Board of five Official Translators."[315] Perhaps the greatest advance made was the addition of J. S. Gale in 1892 and W. D. Reynolds in 1893 to the Board of the Official Translators. Between 1890 and 1897 Mr. Gale translated The Acts of the Apostles,[316] Galatians, Ephesians,[317] Corinthians, and the Gospel of John.[318] Dr. Scranton is reported to have translated Romans, part of the Epistle of James and parts of Genesis, Exodus and the Psalms.[319] Dr. Underwood's work was meager, consisting only of the Gospel of Luke and a part of the Psalms.[320] We have no record of the work of Messrs. Appenzeller and Reynolds, but know that it was considerable. The methods of translation were not uninteresting. We quote the complicated procedure as given by Dr. Reynolds :

"There are....three stages in the preparation of the tentative edition :—

(a) The individual version made without the aid of his fellow translators.

(b) The provisional version, made by the original translator upon the basis of written criticism and suggestion of the other members, severally.

(c) The Board's version, reached in protracted session by majority vote on disputed readings in the provisional version. When any manuscript has thus been acted upon by the Board, and the Board's final version carefully prepared, it is turned over to the Permanent Excutive Bible Committee for publication as the 'Tentative Edition' of the board."[321]

The Tentative Version was to be circulated for three years and then the authorized version was to be issued, which in reality was to be the revision of the Tentative Version by the Board of Official Translators.[322] By the year

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314 W. D. Reynolds, "Bible Translation in Korea," *The Korean Repository* for December, 1896, p. 470.
315 *Ibid. loc. cit*
316 N. P. Report for 1892, p. 172.
317 *Ibid.* for 1893, p. 146.
318 *Ibid.* for 1896, p. 122.
319 M. E. North Report for 1895, p. 247.
320 N. P. Report for 1895. p. 122.
321 W. D. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 472.
322 *Ibid., loc.cit.*

1 896, only Matthew and Galatians had reached the second s tage of the procedure mentioned above. In the meantime many provisional versions were published and circulated to meet the demand of the growing church.

"TERM" QUESTION

In connection with the translation of the Bible we must mention a difficulty which, as in China among the Roman Catholics and Protestants, occasioned much debate, the question as to what term should be used for God. The Korean language has several terms for the Chief Deity: three of them are identical with Chinese expressions, "Chun" (Tien in Chinese, meaning Heaven), "Chun Chu" (Tien Chu in Chinese for the Lord of Heaven), and "Sang Chei" (Shangti in Chinese, or the Supreme Ruler), and also the word "Hanulim." Korean, however, does not have either the capital or the definite article by which the Christian God can be designated. The Roman Catholics and the Anglican Church adopted the term Chun Chu ; so did the early Protestant missionaries in Korea.[323] During the time of confusion, the term was either entirely omitted, as was the case in Underwood's collection of hymns, or two "terms," presumably Sang Chei and Chun Chu, were used.[324] The chief positions in the controversy were, briefly, that some believed in adopting a Korean term and giving it new content, while others argued against adopting the term used for a non-Christian god, which, they thought, would never convey the attributes of the Christian God. The confusion and debate was finally put to an end when the word Hananim was adopted—a changed form of Hanulim. The latter is composed of two Korean words, "Hanul" or heaven and "im" or lord. Therefore Hanulim, when it is interpreted into Chinese is the same as Tien Chu, the term adopted by the Roman Catholics. The new word Hananim was made from Hanulim by changing a vowel and a consonant. On account of the close resemblance of sound between *a* and *u*, and *l* and *n*,

323 *The Korean Repository* for April, 1896. p. 177.
324 *Ibid.* for September, 1896, p. 377.

Hananin is quite understandable to Koreans as meaning Hanulim. The new Term, however, has new meaning. Etymologically, Hananim consists of "Hana" or one, only, or alone, and "Im" lord. Therefore the new word Hananim meant the one or only Lord. Today the term Hanulim is almost out of existence and is supplanted by the word Hananim. In mixed scripts of Chinese and Korean, the Chinese term Shangti—that usually employed by Protestants in China—is used. The opinion of one of the secretaries of the Mission Boards in the controversy is interesting, for it reveals the attitude of the Board toward the missionaries on the field. "It is *not necessary* to know the technical merits of the controversy, to be able to form a judgment in such a case. *The Missionaries ought to agree.* If they will not I should hope that the Board and the Bible Societies would do so."[325]

BIBLE SOCIETIES

The three Bible Societies, the Scotch, American, and British, continued their work in Korea. The American Society, which extended its work in Korea through its agent in Japan, did not take an active part in the work until the Reform Era following the Sino-Japanese war. We have already shown the cosmopoliten character of the people engaged in the Bible work in Korea. In 1895 the American Society sent A. A. Pieters, a converted Russian Jew, as a colporteur to Korea.[326] Mr Pieters made Seoul his headquarters and took trips into the interior and sold Scriptures and travelled over almost the

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325 R. E. Speer, *The Report on the Mission in Korea of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions*, p. 40. For further details of the controversy, see L. H. Underwood, *Fifteenth Years Among the Top-Knots*, pp. 103-105 ; *idem*, *Underwood of Korea*, pp. 123-126. Cf. J. S. Gal, *Korea's Preparation for the Bible, The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 8 No. 3 (March, 1912). pp. 66-70.

326 When Pieters was employed on April 20, 1895, at Nagasaki for the work, he had spent only two weeks in the study of English. He came to Korea May 13th. In that year he was able to speak English fluently and to write it correctly. He graduated at a Russian Gymnasium, could read Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, and read and speak German. Later he joined the Northern Presbyterian Mission, and still is engaged in the Mission work in Korea. —Annual Report of the American Bible Society for 1895, pp. 166-169 ; for 1897, pp. 157-159.

entire country within a year.[327] The Scotch Society had no colporteur in the country and ceased active work except for taking a share in the publication of the Scriptures. The British Society has had a large share in the Bible work. In 1887 R. T. Truley was appointed sub-agent for Manchuria and Korea and he had two Korean colporteurs at work in Northern Korea. In 1896 Mr. Alexander Kenmure and Mr. Truley visited Seoul and at the request of the Permanent Executive Bible Committee a sub-depot was opened at the capital with a Chinese in charge. When the war between China and Japan broke out, the Chinese left the country and the work was stopped until 1894 when the depot was reopened and a Korean was placed in charge, under the supervision of Mr. Appenzeller. Due to the growing work, the missionaries requested the opening of a separate agency in Korea. In response to this request and the need of the work, in 1895 A. Kenmure was sent to Seoul as resident agent of the Society. The Society also employed colporteurs and Bible women under the direction of the missionaries.[328] The three societies united in support of the publication, the Britist and American societies contributing two-fifths each, and the Scotch Society one-fifth.[329] In 1896, an edition of 26,500 volumes of Gospels and the Acts was published.[330]

PERSECUTIONS

During the period under our survey, there was no conspicuous persecution, except the temporary outbreak at Pyeng Yang. Early in May, 1894, Dr. and Mrs. W. J. Hall with their little son moved to Pyeng Yang. They were the first missionary family to reach the interior city. Their arrival was the occasion for a disturbance which we will narrate in Dr. W. J. Hall's own words.

"Shortly after our arrival great numbers of natives came to see us. Mrs. Hall told them she would see them Wednesday afternoon.[331] By

327 Annual Report of the American Bible Society, op. *cit. loc. cit.*

328 Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1896, p. 243.

329 W. D. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 470.

330 Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1897, p. 242.

331 They arrived on Tuesday, noon.

noon hundreds of women and children had gathered in the road and outside yard to see Mrs. Hall and baby. We arranged to let them in by tens to remain for five minutes. This worked well for a short time, but soon those behind became impatient, commenced to crowd, broke down the gate, and soon the inside yard and the house were filled to overflowing.... As we could no longer control the people I went to the Magistrate and asked for a soldier to protect us. He promised to send one the next day, but none ever came. About one o'clock Thursday morning we were awakened by two of the native Christians, who informed us that our faithful helper, Kim Chang Sik, and the former owner of the house we were stopping in, had been cast into prison.... Early in the morning I went to the Governor's, but he was sleeping, and I could not see him. Then I went to the prison and found that, in addition to our men, the helper of Mr. Moffett, of the Presbyterian Mission, and also the former owner of the house that the helper lived in, were both in the prison; and that same night policemen had gone to where Mr. Moffett stopped when in Pyeng Yang and cruelly beat all the native Christians that were there. Chang Sik had his feet wedged in stocks and was suffering intense pain. I then went to the house to see if Mrs. Hall was all right, when Mr. O, one of our Christians who had accompanied me to the governor's, was seized and taken off to prison. Mr. Yi, another of our native Christians, then accompanied me on my rounds to the prison house and telegraph office. He would say to me, 'I will be taken to prison next, and then you'll have to go alone.' We were the only foreigners in the city of one hundred thousand, and you can imagine our situation when I had to leave Mrs. Hall and little Sherwood alone and unprotected, as much of the time I was away at the prison or the telegraph office. I telegraphed the state of affairs to Dr. Scranton in Seoul, and he and Mr. Moffett carried the matter to the British and American Legations, and soon the welcome message came over the wire: 'Legations will act at once.'....Soon there came a telegram from Mr. Gardner, British Council General, and Mr. Sill, American Minister Resident, stating that they had insisted that the Foreign Office order the release of the men in prison at once, and our protection according to treaty....This was Thursday evening; that night our house was stoned and the wall torn down. We did not know what moment a mob might be upon us. Early Friday morning a servant of the Governor's came and said the telegram from the king had been received, but that it said we were bad people and to kill all the Christians. I went to the prison, and this report was confirmed there. Our men had been moved to the death cell, the torturing continued; they expected to die, but would not give up Christ. The water carriers were forbidden to bring us water. There are no wells in Pyeng Yang, and the water is brought from the river a half mile distant....Two telegrams from the foreign office had been sent since Thursday night, but five o'clock Friday came, and still no

relief. At six o'clock, after thirty-six hours of torture in prison, threatened many times with death, all were sent for by the magistrate, beaten and discharged, but stoned all the way home."[332]

Dr. Hall made no comments as to the reasons for the persecution; but as we read the account, the motive of the governor seems to have been to "squeeze" the missionaries through torturing their converts. The sending of the servant on Friday morning with threatening news was a plain hint that a bribe would be acceptable.

The Pyeng Yang persecution had three results. First of all, an impression was made on the local officials. The governor was forced to realize that there were higher powers than he. This single episode made a profound impression on the minds of the people. Even the governor had to yield when he came to deal with missionaries. The people who had been oppressed and subjected to extortion by the governor turned to the missionary and his religion as a measure of protection and personal safety. Of course, this victory of the missionary produced wrong impressions, but it won the people. A second result of the persecution was the dispersion of the old converts into the countryside. Where they went they preached the new religion and as a result of their activities a church arose at Chairyung in Whanghai province.[333] Last of all, this incident insured complete toleration in the northern provinces for the Christian religion. It strengthened the impression, among the people in Pyeng Yang, that the victory of the Japanes over the Chinese had made—that Western civilization was superior to their own. Thus for the missionaries was created a wide open field for labor. As we shall note later, Pyeng Yang soon became the center of Christian activities in Korea.

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332 Dr. Hall's letter to the Editor of the *Christian Herald*, reprinted in Mrs. Rosetta S. Hall's book on *The Life of Rev. William James Hall, M. D.*, pp. 272-276.

333 G. Lee, "Pyeng Yang After the War," *The Church at Home and Abroad* for August, 1895, p. 129.

CONFLICT WITH THE ROMAN CATHOLICS

There were sometimes conflicts between Protestant Christianity and other religious sects. First of all there was the antagonism of the Roman Catholics. In 1896, F. S. Moore reported that new converts at Suwon were "persecuted by the Catholics for saying bad things about their [Catholic] church and seemed to feel anxious as to the future."[334] C. C. Vinton speaks of the menace of Catholicism to the propagation of Protestantism as follows:

"In some quarters an obstacle to the reception of truth lies in the perverted teachings of Roman Catholicism, which has long had a firm footing in Korea. It is said to number at present about thirty thousand converts in the several provinces. It is not to be supposed that many of those have received any spiritual training. They form, to all intents simply an extensive organization whose members support one another in forcing others to yield to them in temporal affairs. They have such a bad name among other classes that not a few refuse Protestant books until assured that they have nothing to do with Catholics."[335]

Another religious influence which the missionaries began to feel was the revival of Buddhism. One of the first steps of the reform program promoted by the Japanese was toleration of Buddhism, which had been under the ban for five hundred years.[336] Japanese Buddhist monks soon came to Korea, especially to the southern provinces, to carry on propaganda. The editor of the *Missionary Review of the World* discussed their activities, basing his remarks upon the information given by W. M. Baird, of Fusan:

"The new Buddhism of Japan takes all it can from Christianity and other sources to arm itself with new aggressive and propagandist methods. Emissaries of the new Buddhist creed in Japan are visiting the old Buddhist monasteries in Korea, endeavoring to persuade them to adopt the methods in use in their own country, and offering to take Korean youths thither to be educated. These offers have been accepted by some of the Korean officials, and when the young men are suitably indoctrinated, they are to return as propapandists of that faith among their own people."[337]

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334 N. P. Report for 1894, p. 159.
335 C. C. Vinton, "Obstacles to Missionary Success in Korea." *The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S., Vol. 7, No. 11 (November, 1894), p. 842.
336 "Korean Reforms," *The Japan Mail*, Feb. 23, 1895, p. 235.
337 *The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S., Vol. 9, No. 1 (January, 1895), p. 63.

However, there has been reported no conflict between the new Buddhism and Christianity. Some missionary believed the revival was an indication for "a ready acceptance for a higher form of faith."[338]

SOCIAL OUTLAWRY

Social outlawry was still a prevailing form of persecution. In 1892, Mr. Moffett wrote:

"As yet persecution takes the form of reproach from one's family or friends, submitting to be thought a 'fool,' or a man with no sense of shame or of respect for one's parents if he refuses to sacrifice to his ancestors. One of the Christians here who this spring refused to sacrifice at his father's tomb showed me a scar on his forehead which he received from his aunt, who knocked him senseless with an inkstone."[339]

At the time of the Reform Era new pressure was brought to bear upon the Christians. The close connection of the Christians with the missionaries and their disinterested attitude toward the political affairs of the country led the people to think that the Christians were partisans of the West and of Western civilization, and were no longer true Koreans. In 1895, Baron Yun, writing to his friends in America, said: "I shall try to make my fidelity and conscientiousness show that a Christian is not one who forgets his own country, as he is often charged out here with doing. I am the only outspoken Christian in the Korean Government."[340]

THE TONG HAK SECT AND CHRISTIANITY

The years covered by this chapter were marked by some conflict with the Tong Haks. The Tong Hak insurrection was, however, only incidentally anti-Christian. When they raised their standard in the south, the Tong Haks sought popular support by appealing to the well-known and long-

338 *Ibid.*, for September, 1895, p. 665.
339 S. A. Moffett, "Evangelizing in Korea," *The Gospel in all Lands* for 1892, p. 446.
340 *The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S., Vol. 9, No. 10 (October, 1895), p. 796.

established principles of Confucius. This was at once construed as being anti foreign. A Japanese writer declares :

"This discontented people were anti-foreign, because in their eyes the vices of Corean officialism were due to the corruption of good morals by contact with the foreigners, *i. e.*, Japanese most of all. They formed themselves into bands with the following reactionary motto: Recognize society on the principle of Confucian virtue. Restore the right way by driving out the Japanese barbarians. Enter Seoul with armed force and exterminate the nobles and the officials. Re-establish moral order according to the teachings of the Chinese sage."[341]

Except for bitterness toward the Japanese, however, their anti-foreign feeling was not strong. Explanations of Christianity disarmed the anti-Christian feeling of the Tong Haks.[342] Summarizing the effects of the Tong Hak insurrection to Christianity, Dr. Robert E. Speer said :

"Even before the Tong Hak revival and uprising of 1894, the Protestant missionaries had gained a strong foothold....And the Tong Hak rebellion, instead of supplanting Christianity with the religion which Choi had devised as superior to it, or of driving out of the country any foreigners who were propagating it, both gave to Christianity a powerful impulse and the way for its wider dissemination. In the first place the conditions of discontent out of which the Tong Hak movement arose were favorable to the consideration of the message of Christianity .... And when the Tong Hak movement failed, it left multitudes more ready than ever to listen to the missionaries....They had been taught the folly of worshipping spirits and the necessity of worshipping God only....Their idea of God and His worship is according to the Roman Catholics and the Buddhist combined. Abstinence, ablution and sacrifices were freely practiced to appease the deity. 'Repairing of the mind' or repentance was exhorted. The people are now asking, what is the true way to worship God?....The spirit of inquiry is abroad everywhere."[343]

THE KOREAN CHRISTIANS

Mr. Alexander Kenmure, agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society, reporting on the Korean Christian, said: "Doubtless it is quite true that many, probably most, of the candidates for baptism have anything but commendable

341 A. Stead, *Japan by Japanese*, p. 203.
342 Cf. "Seven Months Among the Tong Haks," *The Korean Repository* for June, 1895, pp. 201-203; Elizabeth A. McCully, *A Corn of Wheat, op. cit.*, pp. 163-198.
343 R. E. Speer, *Missions and Modern History*, Vol. 2, p. 336

motives for joining the church." However, Mr. Kenmure did not point out what the unworthy motives were. These we know to have been as follows. First of all, there were those who came to church on account of poverty. Mr. H.B. Hulbert says: "The difficulty that we have to work against is the feeling that bread can be bought by profession of faith....This is, perhaps, especially so in my case, as in the Press I have considerable work to give out, work which a 'yang ban'[345] can do without losing caste."[346] However, there was another side. Koreans turned to missionaries for position "mainly for the reason that it is impossible for them to continue in their old pursuits and still practice Christian morality."[347] Political oppression was another cause for the increase of the believers. The people felt that they had reached the bottom of misery: there was no justice in the courts, and cruelty, torture, and extortion were prevalent. This political maladministration and general poverty resulted in dissatisfaction. The splendid teachings of Confucius concerning state and society and the fine traditions of the forefathers seemed a failure. The people were ready to accept any new religion and civilization which would assure them the peace and prosperity of the West. The victory of Japan over China made a great impression. The Korean had respected China as the source of power and civilization; now she was beaten to her knees by the eastern islanders who had learned the arts of war and government from the West. The people began to believe that everything of the West was superior and best, and they were ready to accept the religion of the Westerners. The people learned the immense political power of the West and saw that even the governor of a province and magistrates of countries had to submit to missionaries. By accepting Christianity the oppressed hoped to win lawsuits, secure

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344 Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1897, p. 241.
345 Patrician.
346 M. E. North Report for 1895, p. 243.
347 C. C. Vinton, "Obstacles to Missionary Success in Korea," *The Missionary Review* of the World, N. S., Vol. 7, No. 11 (November, 1894), p. 842.

justice from the tyrants and protection from the hands of extortioners. It was reported that: "There is a general impression abroad that a Korean who is in any way connected with foreigners, especially with missionaries, is practically free from the restraints of Korean as well as all other laws. This is their interpretation of exterritoriality rights."[348]

Yet there were genuine conversions. Dr. R. E. Speer, in his report on the Mission in Korea in 1897, says: "There is real ground for believing that there is a genuine spiritual movement. The ideas of sin and of salvation through Christ seem to be the dominant ideas of the native Christians.... Instances of individual conversion which are as thorough and satisfactory as any that are seen here, warm church life full of brotherly trust and co-operation, ex-Confucianists weeping over their sins and crying in their prayers, giving without urging and in full measure, and preferring this to any mission aid, such activity in personal work, and such desire for souls as are not common at home, men and women saved from adultery, drunkenness, and gross sin, and made clean and pure, a fervent love of the Bible and a keen desire for more teaching....even making allowance for all merely superficial and imitative experience, show that this work is true. Such fresh originality of spiritual ideas, and such novelty of greeting and conversation, we had not elsewhere met. It was a constant blessing to us, like real contact with the fresh life of the early Christians."[349] The religious belief of the Korean Christian cannot better be demonastrated than by quoting a verse which one of them wrote on the death of his Christian friend:

"It was a sign of wondrous grace,
When Jesus shared the sinner's place,
That he might purchase righteousness,
For those in sin and dark distress.
So we sing 'Our elder brother,
Lives with every conflict over,

348 M. E. North Report for 1892, p. 286.
349 R. E. Speer, *Report on the Mission in Korea.* p. 9.

Has his tears all wiped away,
Sharing peace and liberty.'
God has not, unkind in heart,
Left us thus to meet and part.
But our fathers' sins require
That our bodies pay the hire.
Then we'll meet again on high,
Sons of immortality."[350]

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350 Author of the verse was Korean teacher of Rev. J. S. Gale. His namd is given as an Yi.—*The Church at Home and Abroad* for July, 1894, p. 34.

CHAPTER V

THE RISE OF THE CHURCH, 1897-1906

The years from 1897 to 1906 mark the period of the rise of the church, following naturally the impetus gained in the preceding years. In spite of—and because of—the political changes, the Christian community continued to grow, almost without interruption, throughout the country. The period has been summed up by the following remarkable statement:

"The marvelious progress of missionary work, in the sometime Hermit Nation, the activity of the Christians, the zeal for the cause, the self-sacrificing energy in church work, have challenged the attention of all Christendom. For almost ten years the story of the work has seemed like a chapter from the Acts of the Apostles."[1]

The note of the entire period is rapid advance and marked progress.

From our point of view, the problem in Korea during these nine years is divided into two categories, political and missionary. The political problems are so closely interrelated with mission work that a summary of them is necessary to an understanding of the situation.

The political problem centers on the spirited contest between Russia and Japan for the control of Korea. The issues involved in the struggle were stated by a Japanese scholar as follows:

"Korea is essential to Russia for the completion of her Manchurian policy, and for strengthening enormously her general position in the East. For Japan, Korea is nothing short of one-half of her vitality. By the opening or closing, strength or weakness, independence or fall, of Korea would Japan's fate as a nation be decided. On the contrary, Russia, with Manchuria, and ultimately Korea, in her hands, would be able, on the one hand, to build up, under her policy, a naval and commercial influence strong enough to enable her to dominate the East, and on the other, to cripple forever Japan's ambition as a nation, slowly drive her to starvation and decay, and even politically annex her. From Japan's point view, Korea and China must be left open freely to the economic enterprise of herself and others alike, and in order to effect

1 Correspondence with the Missions of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. regarding the Distinct Missionary Responsibility of the Presbyterian Church in 1907, p. 69.

that end, they must remain independent and become stronger by their internal development and reform. Russia's interests are intelligible, as are Japan's, but unfortunately, their desires are antagonistic to each other, so that a conflict between an open and an exclusive policy is rendered inevitable."[2]

The most unfortunate thing was not the conflict between these two powers, but the conflict between the desires of Korea and of these two nations.

Soon after the king[3] took refuge in the Russian Legation, both Japan and Russia were desirous of coming to an understanding as to Korea; the Russian Minister at Seoul, M. Waeber, and Komura, representing Japan, made an agreement which was later revised and published under the name of the *Yamagata-Lobanoff Agreement.* The protocol provided that "if, as the result of the admittedly indispensable reforms, it should become necessary to have recourse to foreign liaisons, the two government will lend, by mutual accord, their assistance to Korea" ; and that "the Russian and Japanese governments will endeavor to leave to Korea, so far as the financial and economic situation of that country will permit them to do so, the creation and maintenance of an armed force and of a native police, in sufficient proportion to maintain order with foreign aid."[4]

This agreement prevented the open agression of the two powers. Russia, however, determined to control Korea. In order to avoid an open rupture with Japan, Russia operated through France. France had no particular ambition in Korea, but was a close ally of Russia. Through the influence of the Russian representatives, in July 1896, a French syndicate obtained a concession for building a railway between Seoul and Euiju. As subsequent events proved, the French had no sincere desire to inaugurate the enterprise, but wished merely to prevent others from doing it. It was a Franco-Russian scheme for making northern Korea a Russian sphere of influence.

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2 K. Asakawa, *The Russo-Japanese Conflict*, pp. 52, 53.
3 On October 17, 1897, the king was crowned Emperor of Tai Han.
4 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Korea Treaties and Agreements*, p. 23.

However, the Russians were not satisfied with their slow progress at Seoul, and in 1897 M. Waeber was recalled and de Speyer was sent to inaugurate a policy of open aggression. He at once demanded a coaling station at Fusan, on Deer Island, a direct blow to Japan. Then he secured the appointment of Kir Alexeieff, a Russian, to the post of the Chief Commissioner of Customs and Adviser to the Finance Department, which position Dr. J. McLeavy Brown, an Englishman had held. This policy of bluff, on the part of the Russian Minister, not only came to nothing, but made the position of Russia in Korea untenable because of the opposition of Japan and Great Britian. De Speyer was recalled, and the Russian military instructor and financial adviser took their departure in the spring of 1898. The strained situation was thus temporarily relieved.

Soon after the withdrawal of the Russians from Seoul, on April 25, 1898, Russia and Japan entered into another understanding, known as the *Rosen-Nishi Agreement.* Article I provided that "The Imperial governments of Russia and Japan recognize definitely the sovereignty and entire independence of Korea, and pledge themselves mutually to abstain from all direct interference in the internal affairs of that country."[5] In the same pact, the Russians acknowledged a certain interest of the Japanese in Korea. Article III reads : "In view of the wide development taken by the commerical and industrial enterprise of Japan in Korea, as well as the large number of Japanese subjects residing in that country, the Russian government will not hinder the development of commercial and industrial relations between Japan and Korea."[6] However, when the Russians withdrew from Seoul, they manipulated matters in such a way that a large number of Frenchmen were placed in government positions. Dr. Arthur Judson Brown, of the Foreign Mission Board of the Northern Presbyterian Church, who visited Korea in 1901, reported : "All these Franco-Russian schemes are materially aided by the Roman Catholic Church in Korea... The relations

5 *Korea Treaties and Agreements op., cit.*, p. 24.
6 *Ibid.*

between the French political plans and the French Catholic mission are very close. The Legation and the missionaries work together so openly that the typical priest is commonly believed to be a quasi-political French emissary. In this powerful hierarchy, France and Russia have no contemptible reinforcement."[7] To add to this, in January, 1899, a Mission of the Russian Greek Orthodox Church was established in Seoul and caused much disturbance in the "Southern provinces by Koreans....pretending to be agents of the Russian Church....collecting from the people large sums of money by intimidation."[8]

In January, 1900, Paul Pavloff was sent to Seoul. The Russians "were now to adopt a policy of pure intrigue, and by holding in power [in government positions] Koreans who were hostile to the Japanese, to harass and injure Japanese interests in every way possible."[9] In 1902, it was known to the public that the Korean government had guaranteed that no land at Masanpo, "a harbor unsurpassed for its naval facilities, and most admirably situated as a connecting point between Vladivostock and Port Arthur,"[10] or on the island of Kei Chei, on the southern coast of Korea, should be sold or permanently leased to any foreign power. And it was known that Russians had already secured a coaling station at Masanpo. In the following year, the preponderance of Russian influence was manifested in the acquisition of a timber concession in the Yalu valley. This concession was obtained secretly, without regular diplomatic procedure, and neither the emperor nor the government received any compensation for it. In order to facilitate the transportation of timber, the Russians soon secured a concession of the port of Yangampo, at the mouth of the Yalu, and named it Port Nicholas.

Meanwhile the Japanese were not inactive. The treaty of peace between China and Japan, signed at Shimonoseki, clearly indicated the Japanese policy toward the Asiatic main-

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7 A. J. Brown, *Report of a Visitation of the Korea Mission* (1901). p. 6.
8 H. B. Hulbert, *The History of Korea*, Vol. 2. P. 331.
9 H. B. Hulbert, *op. cit*, Vol. 2., p. 327.
10 K. Asakawa, *op cit.*, p. 274.

land. Japan sought as a prize for her victory over China the possession of the Liaotung Peninsula. Had not the Europen powers intervened, Japan would have undertaken the occupation of Manchuria first, leaving Korea for eventual possession. But Russia (ostensibly in the interests of the integrity of China, but really in the interests of her own ambition) persuaded France and Germany to join with her in forbidding the cession of any territory on the Chinese mainland. The Russian mask of solicitude for the integrity of China soon fell off and she began to make encroachments, one after another, on Manchuria and northern Korea. Since the flight of the king of Korea to the Russia Legation, Japanese prestige in Korea had suffered a marked decline, but Japan had a large share in the economic and financial control of the country. She was already in control of the telegraph line between Seoul and Fusan, and had secured a concession to build a railway between the two points. Thus the southern half of the peninsula was already a Japanese sphere of influence. On December 31, 1898, a Japanese syndicate purchased the first and only railway line between Seoul and Chemulpo, from the American concern which had built the road. The Japanese soon extracted from the Korean government rights of whaling in Korean waters and other fishery concessions, occupying the island of Ke Chei with her fishermen. In order to offset Russian aggression, Japan secured mining and timber concessions. The first Bank of Japan issued special notes for Korea, which would not circulate outside of that country.

In 1902 there was announced a defensive alliance between Japan and Great Britain.[11] This was a preparatory step toward the approaching armed conflict with Russia. The rivalry between the two contesting powers became keener year by year. In order to define their interests in the peninsula, diplomatic negotiations were again opened between St. Petersburg aud Tokyo, and between August, 1903, and February, 1904, ten different drafts of a treaty were ex-

11 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Korea Treaties and Agreements*, pp. 43-35.

changed. The deadlock was finally broken by the appeal to arms.

A positive attitude on the part of the Korean government would have changed the situation. If Seoul had inaugurated the sweeping reform program that the Japanese advocated and had sided with her island neighbor in resisting the northern power, the Russo-Japanese war might have been postponed or avoided. But neither the Korean government nor the people had learned the lesson of the past. There was a handful of the Progressives who had formed themselves into the "Independence Club" and had worked for a liberal consitutional form of government. The emperor welcomed the idea of complete independence which this group advocated, but he soon realized that constitutional government would limit the royal prerogatives. In the meantime, the reactionaries and self-seekers began to understand what a constitutional form of government would mean to them—a government in which there would be no opportunity of "squeezing" and tyranny. Consequently the Independentists were disbanded. The Japanese could have accomplished the task of tutoring the people had they been wise and tactful, but Japan always looked upon Korea as a base of hostile action against herself. There were and are only two alternatives for the peace of the Orient. One of these is the present arrangement, making the buffer state the protectorate of a strong power. Under this régime, in spite of the fine "Report on Reforms and Progress in Korea,"[12] there is no contentment and satisfaction in Korea. The other alternative for the peace and security of the Far East is that of guiding Korea to the status of a strong and thoroughly independent state. The latter has been the desire of the Korean people, but that desire came into conflict with the imperialism of both Japan and Russia. The tragic story of Korea in the twentieth century is the conflict between the ambitious imperialism of Japan and the growing nationalism of the Koreans.

12 The Annual Report of Reform and Progress in Chosen. "This has been sometimes unkindly nicknamed by foreigners in Korea 'The Book of Fairy Tales.' "—Stephen King-Hall, *Western Civilization and the Far East*, p. 181, footnote.

One of the movements during the period in the home base which affected the missionary enterprise most was the Spanish-American war, which resulted in bringing the Philippine Islands under the control of the United States. An important politico-missionary episode was the Boxer movement, which left the West more in control in the East than ever before. Still another epoch-making event was the Russo-Japanese war, which changed the whole political situation in the Far East. The American possession of the Philippine Islands gave her a new interest in the Orient; the American policy of the open door in China won the recognition of the world; and President Roosevelt's mediation for peace between Japan and Russia increased the prestige of American diplomacy. F. F. Ellinwood was right when he declared: "Our missionary work in the coming decades, whether we will or not, and whether for good or bad, will be more and more closely related to the influence of diplomacy and commerce."[13]

"There were in Korea, in 1903, about two hundred and fifty Americans, half of whom were connected with the missions. The fact that practically all the Protestant missionary work was American, and that it was extraordinarily successful served to nourish in the United States a growing sympathy with the Koreans."[14] But what was the policy of the United States towards Korea? When the Russo-Japanese war broke out, the United States government, upholding the principle of the open door, sent identical notes to the governments of Russia and Japan, expressing the wish of the United States that the neutrality and administrative integrity of China should be respected. These notes, however, said nothing about the neutrality of Korea.[15] While the war was still in progress, in January, 1905, President Roosevelt wrote: "We cannot possibly in-

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13 N. P. Report for 1905, p. 18.
14 T. Dennett, *Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War*, pp. 104, 105.
15 In reply to this note, both Russia and Japan agreed to respect Chinese neutrality outside of Manchuria.—T. Dennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 28.

terfere for the Koreans against Japan."[16] In the same year, Dr. Horace N. Allen, the able United States Minister at Seoul, was replaced by Edwin V. Morgan.[17] Dr. Allen had lived in Korea over twenty years, and he had come to have the confidence of the government and the people. When the Japanese took possession of the country, Dr. Allen notified his government of the activities of the Japanese. The Japanese soon came to regard him as an obstacle to their program and, in spite of his capable service at Seoul, he was rather unceremoniously recalled by the Roosevelt government.[18]

"Perhaps the most remarkable 'executive agreement' in the history of the foreign relations of the United States"[19] is Roosevelt's secret pact with Japan made through his personal representative. The document deals with four important political topics then current: the Philippine question, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the Korean question, and the Russian danger. In regard to the first question, the Japanese "confirmed in the strongest terms the correctness of his (Katsura, the Japanese Prime Minister's) views on the point, and positively stated that Japan does not harbor any aggressive design whatever on the Philippines."[20] The third paragraph deals with the Korean question, which the diplomat purposefully detached from the first by inserting the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, in order to avoid the impression that Roosevelt was trading Korea for the Philippines. The Japanese Prime Minister states that in his personal opinion, "the establishment by Japanese troops of a suzerainty over Korea to the extent of requiring that Korea enter into no foreign treaties without the consent of Japan, was the logical

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16 T. Dennett, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

17 The commission of Morgan was dated March, 1905, but he did not arrive at Seoul to supersede Dr. Allen until June 10 of that year,—A. J. Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East*, p. 199.

18 The American citizens in the country joined in a protest against the action of the American government in recalling their trusted Minister, but Dr. Allen, knowing the futility of the protest, forbade them to forward the document.—*The Allen Papers* deposited in the New York Public Library.

19 T. Dennett, "President Roosevelt's Secret Pact with Japan," *The Current History Magazine*, October, 1924, pp. 15-21.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

result of the present war." (Russo-Japanese.)[21] To this statement the President replied to his personal representative: "Your conversation with Count Katsura is absolutely correct in every respect. Wish you would state to Katsura that I confirm every word you said."[22] The next incident was the petition from the Koreans in Hawaii. When the Peace Conference met at Portsmouth, the Koreans in Hawaii presented a petition to Roosevelt, asking that he "see to it that Korea may preserve her autonomous government."[23] The Hulbert mission was another diplomatic episode which reveals the determination of Roosevelt. When the Japanese were forcing the treaty of protectorate over Korea, the helpless emperor commissioned Professor Homer B. Hulbert, formerly an American in charge of the government school, to go to America and appeal to the President of the United States to exercise his good offices and help in the situation. The Japanese, suspecting the Hulbert mission, forced the treaty through while Hulbert was crossing the continent toward Washington. The President refused to see the Korean emperor's commissioner. In the meantime, the Japanese completed their work, so that Hulbert could do nothing further.[24]

As soon as the diplomatic affairs of the Korean government were handed over to the Japanese, "to the indignation of the Koreans and the chagrin of the Americans in Korea, the government of the United States was the first to withdraw its Minister. It leaked out afterward that the Japanese Minister at Peking had hinted to the American Minister.... that in view of the Korean hope of American intervention, it would be pleasing to the Japanese if the United States should be the first nation to close its Legation in Seoul, as the moral

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21 T. Dennett, "President Roosevelt's Secret Pact with Japan," *The Current History Magazine*, October, 1924, p. 18.
22 *Ibid*., p. 15.
23 H. Chung, *The Oriental Policy of the United States*, p. 244.
24 For the documents in the case and for the story of the mission, see H. B. Hulbert, "What About Korea?" *The Korea Review* (Philadelphia), Vol. 1, No. 7 (September, 1919), pp. 1-4; Senate Document No. 342, 64th Congress, 1st Session; "American Policy in the Case of Korea and Belgium," *The New York Times*, March 5, 1919.

effect upon the Koreans would be great."[25] On all of these occasions, when Korea most needed friends, the American government failed her. Such a situation not only resulted in resentment against the United States on the part of the Koreans, but also made the position of the American missionaries very difficult.[26]

EVANGELISTIC WORK IN THE NORTHWEST

In the preceding chapter we recounted the establishment of the mission station at Pyeng Yang, under very difficult circumstances. After 1898 the Pyeng Yang station became the center of all Christian activities in northern Korea. It will be remembered that these regions had early been visited by colporteurs sent from Manchuria, and later were extensively explored by the pioneer missionaries. The people in northern Korea are more aggressive and energetic than those of the south. They have been hard workers, fighting against the mountainous environment in which they till the ground. Not many of the northerners held high offices in the government, but were rather subject to the oppression and extortion of the officials sent from Seoul. Their social customs were also somewhat different from those of the capital. There were no strict class distinctions, as in Seoul and the southern provinces, neither was there rigid separation of the sexes—a custom resulting from literal interpretation of one of the five relations of the Confucian teachings. Religiously, the people largely professed Confucianism, but it had no such hold on them as it had in southern Korea. Shamanism was the prevailing belief. When the country was opened to the West, the energetic people of the North soon caught the spirit of the times. Thus the character of the people, the political vicissitudes, the social background, and the religious conditions, made possible the success of Christianity in the North.

In the North we have now reached the time when the growth of the Protestant churches and the eagerness of the

25 A. J. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
26 N. P. Report for 1906, pp. 236, 237.

people to learn about Christianity were such as to arouse the highest hopes of the missionaries. It is an almost impossible task to record the progress year by year, nor does space permit it. We shall endeavor to show the sudden rise of the church by making several citations from mission reports. In 1897, Robert E. Speer, speaking of the missionary opportunity in Northern Korea, declared: "In the North, the church has spread and penetrated, as we saw nothing to surpass anywhere else in the world. The churches are crowded; the opportunities are unlimited."[27] In the following year, the Northern Presbyterian Mission reported: "The church at Pyeng Yang has so outgrown its frequently enlarged building that it has been compelled to hold services for the women in a separate building."[28] The strength of the church, however, was not only in numbers, but also in the spirit of the congregations. In 1899 Dr. Moffett, the veteran missionary to Northern Korea, reported that the church is "strong, vigorous, self-supporting, influential, and in excellent condition."[29]

On February first of the following year, Dr. Moffett wrote: "Our work here goes on apace, the first quarter showing 300 baptism and 700 catechumens enrolled, while the training class was the largest ever held, and nearly swamped us."[30] In that year the whole Protestant missionary force in Northern Korea, including wives, was sixteen adults, under whose care there were 2,500 church members and 400 catechumens. "The rate of increase is 100 communicants and over 230 catechumens a month."[31] The work was not centered in the one city, but spread through the whole northwest, including the main centers, such as Euiju, Long Chyun, Syen Chyun, Wei Won, Chungwa, Hin Chyun, and counties in the northern Whanghai province. In 1902, the editor of the *Missionary Review of the World* wrote: "It is

27 N. P. Report for 1898, p. 158.
28 N. P Report for 1898, p. 156.
29 *Ibid.* for 1899, p 154.
30 C. C. Vinton, "The Latest Advance in Korea," *The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S., Vol. 13, No. 5 (May, 1900), p. 367.
31 *Ibid.*, p. 368.

claimed that after the C. M. S. [The Church Missionary Society of England] mission in Uganda, none can be named with a more thrilling story of solid progress than that told of the Presbyterian mission in this peninsula, whose field covers nearly all of the two northern provinces. It has 179 outstations, and over 500 places where Christian services are held....There are now over 3,000 communicants in the field, 1,000 of whom were added in eighteen months from July 1900 to December 1901....This Pyeng Yang field comes nearer being a self-supporting one than any in the world, perhaps, unless it is the Uganda."[32]

In spite of the fact that until 1901 Mr. W. A. Noble was the only evangelistic missionary in the field under the Northern Methodist Mission, he established a fine chapel in Pyeng Yang, with a seating capacity of three hundred, and also carried on work in the country. Mr. Noble labored in the city and in the counties of Kangsyu, Sam Wha, and Chinampo. In that year, when Mr. Charles D. Morris joined the Mission, he took charge of the work to the north of Pyeng Yang, extending it to Anju, Yengbyen, Heui Chyun, and Wunsan. As a result of the rapid progress in the North, in 1901 the Northern Presbyterian Mission opened a separate station at Syen Chyun, one hundred miles north of Pyeng Yang, by sending Norman C. Whittemore, Dr. and Mrs. A. M. Sharrocks, Rev. and Mrs. George Leck,[33] and Miss M. L. Chase. The Nothern Methodist Mission also opened in 1906 a separate station at Yengbyen and placed there Rev. and Mrs. C. D. Morris.

In passing, we shall make note of the Syen Chyun station.[34] The pioneer missionaries who visited Eniju and other points in the extreme northern province stopped at this town. When Pyeng Yang was opened, Mr. Yang Chun Paik was placed there as an evangelist. His devoted and

32 *The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S., Vol. XV, No. 7 (July, 1902), p. 553.

33 Mr. Leck died during one of his itinerating trips to Kang Kei.—N.P. Report for 1902, p 185.

34 *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 7, No. 9 (September, 1911), pp. 230-245.

self-sacrificing work resulted in a few conversions. In 1897, William Baird and N. C. Whittemore visited the province and found about sixty Christians in all, scattered in six groups. In that year the Christians in Syen Chyun city met for the first time to worship and later bought a house for a meeting place. In 1898, the mission proposed to open a station at Syen Chyun, on account of its central location in the province, and went so far as to purchase a piece of property. In the same year the first annual Bible training class was held in the city of Syen Chyun. Mr. Whittemore made frequent visits from Pyeng Yang. In 1901, a permanent station was established, and became the center of all Christian activity in the Northern province. In 1903 there were reported in the province forty-seven groups meeting for Sunday worship, with a total of 4,537 adherents. During the Russo-Japanese war, the armies of both belligerents entered the city, but the work continued. In 1905, a division of territory was made between the Northern Methodists and the Northern Presbyterians, giving the former three and one-half counties in the southeastern part of the province. In that year the total communicants of the Northern Presbyterian Mission were reported as 1,263, with 5,119 adherents. In the following year a new church, seating 1,500, was built. The rapid progress in the North was nothing short of that at Pyeng Yang.

EVANGELISTIC WORK IN THE NORTHEAST

The occupation of Wonsan by several missionary agencies has already been mentioned.[35] Dr. William B. McGill, the sole representative of the Northern Methodist Mission, carried on medico-evangelistic work until 1898,[36] when he returned to America on furlough after a term of service of nine years. Upon his return to the country, he was reappointed to the same field.[37] Over this he had charge until 1902, when the work and property were turned over to the Southern Methodists. In 1901, it was reported that there were three places in

35 *Supra*, p. 297-8.
36 M. E. North Report for 1898, p. 267.
37 *Ibid.* for 1902, p. 318.

the country where Sunday services were held, and a girls' school at Wonsan city, with six scholars and a church with fourteen baptized members.[38] The Southern Methdists succeeded to the work and appointed to the position Dr. R. A. Hardie, who had served nearly six years under the auspices of the Canadian Colleges' Mission at that port.[39] Dr. Hardie joined the Southern Methodist Mission in May, 1898,[40] and continued the work there and carried it into the country, chiefly into Kang Won province, south of Wonsan. The Northern Presbyterian Mission stationed two families, those of J. S. Gale and W. L. Swallen, at Won-san. They worked faithfully, itinerating in the country, especially in the Ham Kyeng provinces, but they were not very successful in their effort to lead the Korean Christian church to self-propagation.[41] In 1899, the work of the Northern Presbyterian Mission was turned over to the Canadian Presbyterians.

THE CANADIAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION

This leads us to the story of the establishment of the Canadian Mission in Korea. It will be recalled that Rev. W.J. McKenzie, a Canadian Presbyterian, came to Korea as an independent missionary and gave his life there. In the very month that McKenzie died, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada met and discussed the adoption of North Korea as one of its mission fields and referred the question to the Foreign Mission Committee. While the Committee was investigating the situation there came the news of the death of McKenzie, with the publication of his will and the petition of the Christians at Sorai. The Committee reported to the Assembly of 1896 as follows :

"The Committee reported carefully the Assembly's reference to the question of entering upon mission work in Korea, and concluded that at present it is not practicable. Since last Assembly, the Rev. W. J. MeKenzie....has been removed by death. He left a will which

38 Report of the Annual Meeting, *The Gospel in All Lands* for March, 1902, p. 133.
39 With the resignation of Dr. Hardie the Canadian Colleges' Mission came to an end.
40. M. E. S. Report for 1899, p. 43.
41. N. P. Report for 1899, p. 164.

expressed his desire that any money he had should be used for mission work in Korea. It is ascertained that there are $ 2,000 in gold available; still the Committee realizes that there are grave difficulties in the way....Two, at least, should be sent if the work were undertaken ; but to send two would demand much more means than are now available."[42]

The memorial of the Sorai Christians expressed their determination to follow the example of Mr. McKenzie, and requested the Canadian church to "send....[them] out a Christian Teacher."[43] In the meantime some theological students became interested in Korea and wrote magazine articles urging the Canadian church to begin mission work there.[44] In the meantime, too, the Women's Foreign Missionary Society offered to support a missionary in Korea.[45] In February, 1896, the Executive Committee of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society, East, appeared before the Foreign Mission Committee and expressed a strong desire that the church should open a mission in the Hermit Kingdom. The matter, consequently, was laid before the Presbyteries in Eastern Canada and later was submitted to the Synod of the Maritime Provinces for final action, when it was decided in favor of opening the new mission. Thereupon Dr. and Mrs. Robert Grierson, the Rev. and Mrs. W. R. Foote, and the Rev. Duncan McRae were commissioned and arrived at Seoul in September, 1898.

When these new missionaries reached Seoul, they were invited to join of the Council of Missions in Korea Holding the Presbyterian Form Government, and soon accepted. The Canadians naturally desired to continue the work which McKenzie had left in Whanghai province, but Sorai, being a village, could not well be made a center of missionary operations. Moreover, during the three years since the death of McKenzie, the work had been undertaken by the Northern Presbyterian Mission and had been developed to such a stage that the church at Sorai demanded men who had a knowledge of the language and experience in the country. Consequently,

42 Elizabeth A. McCully, *A Corn of Wheat* (The Life of the Rev. W. J. McKenzie), pp. 252, 253.
42. For the full text of the petition see *Ibid.*, pp. 253, 254.
44 *Ibid.*, p. 252.
45 *Ibid.*, p. 258.

the Council advised the Canadian missionaries to take up work in the two Ham Kyeng provinces, in the northeast. The Northern Presbyterians retired from Won-san in favor of the Canadians and that port became the base of the latter's operation. While the Griersons and McRae remained at Seoul learning missionary methods and the language, Mr. and Mrs. Foote proceeded to Won-san, in November, 1898, and initiated the work of the mission. When Foote came to Won-san, the Canadian Mission received from the Northern Presbyterians a church of sixty-four members and a school for boys. The Christians were preparing to build a larger church.[46] In 1900, the missionary staff was reinforced by the coming of Mrs. McRae and Miss Louise H. McCully, who had just been driven out of China by the Boxer troubles. While they were learning the language, they also served as missionary apprentices to the older missionaries of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, who remained in the field until September, 1899. The main feature of their work was itinerating in the country, exploring their field of labor. These missionaries almost wholly adopted the methods of their predecessors, and continued the work with the some vigor and zeal. As a result of their explorations, in May, 1901, Dr. Grierson opened a mission station in the northern port of Song Chin.[47] The work started with a handful of Christians who migrated[48] from Won-san and other centers in the northeast. The new station made such progress that in 1903 there was reported a Christian constituency of sixty people,[49] but the mission station was temporarily closed during 1904-1905 on account of the Russo-Japanese conflict. Following the war, in 1905, Ham Heung, the capital of North Ham Kyeng province, was made a mission

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46 Report of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada for 1898-9, p. 133. Henceforth it will be abbreviated C. P. Report.

47 C. P. Report for 1902, p. 34.

48 "There was only one Christian family when the station was opened. The arrival of a Christian carpenter, Christian coolies and Christian house-servants gave them a little church immediately."—*Ibid.*, p. 40.

49 *Ibid.* for 1903, pp. 46, 47.

station by the Rev. and Mrs. McRae and their associates.[50] Thus the two northeastern provinces were well occupied, and intensive evangelistic efforts were inaugurated.

EVANGELISTIC WORK IN CENTRAL KOREA

The evangelistic work in Central Korea covers the vast field from Whanghai province to the northern Chung Chyong provinces, including Kyeng Keui and a part of the Kang Won province. In this wide field, three missions carried on evangelistic efforts. The Northern Presbyterians had work in the northwest part of Whanghai province, in Seoul, and in the southeast of Kyeng Keui and the east of Kang Won provinces. The Northern Methodists had a stronghold in western Kyeng Keui and Chung Chyong. The Southern Methodists worked in the northeastern part of Kyeng Keui and Kang Won.

In the preceding period there was one organized church in Seoul and three meeting place, and one incompletely organized church at Sorai, under the Northern Presbyterian Church. During the period under review, the first church at Chung Dong and the little group at Sorai were the most active Christian groups in evangelizing these two provinces. Of the Sorai group it is said : "Christ and His Cause seem uppermost in all their thoughts, and the church behind is actuated by the same principle. It picks out, from time to time, its best men, and sends them out as evangelists. It meets all its expenses without any foreign aid."[51] As the result of the evangelistic activities of the Christians in the region, in 1900 the Northern Presbyterians recorded the growth as follows : "Five out-stations have increased to ten, and the 140 communicants of last year have become 374. A good number of communicants have been sent off from Sorai to assist in the organization of other congregations."[52] The report of the same Board for 1906 reads : "This province (Whanghai) has been partially evangelized."[53] In order to meet the problem

50. C. P. Report for 1905, p. 36.
51 N. P. Report for 1898, p. 155.
52 *Ibid.* for 1900, p. 161.
53 *Ibid.* for 1906, p. 271.

of the instruction of the new converts and of the administration of the churches in the province, the Northern Presbyterian Church opened a mission station at Chairyung in that year and placed Rev. W. B. Hunt, Dr. H. C. Whiting, and Rev. E. W. Koons and their wives in charge.

The work of the Northern Presbyterians in and near the capital during the period was equally encouraging. The first church at Chung Dong was completed with money contributed by the Korean Christians. The church carried on active evangelistic work in neighboring counties, especially at Hyang Ju. The activity of the church was indicated when it was said to be "organized most systematically for its own edification in spiritual knowledge and duty. Its members steadfast to their Christian principles and stalwart in their views and practice of self-support, with a profound sense of the priceless boon which had come to them in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, they mean that their light should not be hid under a bushel."[54]

Mr. S. F. Moore continued his interesting work among the butcher class.[55] The progress of the Seoul station was so rapid that syetematization was not possible until 1905, when the three congregations in the capital were placed under a single session, making them one organization and unified in their evangelistic activities.[56] All the groups in the rural districts were organized on the "collegiate plan."[57] The characteristics of the churches are well described when it was reported that "there has been an enthusiasm for bringing others, a deep desire for a nearness to God and for a knowledge of the real things of faith."[58] The growth will be illustrated by the following table, based on the report of the Northern Presbyterian Board for 1906:

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54 N. P. Report for 1898, p. 155.
55 *Ibid.* for 1902, p. 190.
56 *Ibid.* for 1905, p. 239.
57 *Ibid.*, p. 240.
58 *Ibid.*, p. 239.

District and men in charge	Meeting places	Baptized members	Catechumens	Total adherents	Total contribution
Seoul City	26	500	114	1650	¥1,837.60
W. Kyeng Keui District, H. G. Underwood	16	446	112	700	,, 280.32
S. Kyeng Keui and Chung Chong F. S. Miller, A. A. Pieters	12	89	64	500	,, 137.62
Pai Chung District S. F. Moore	20	253	51	505	,, 361.77
Kang Won Do, A. G. Welbon	18	71	52	225	,, 279.20
S. W. Whanghai District	28	580	165	1070	,, 841.00
Total	120	1939	558	4650	,,3,737.50

The evangelistic work of the Northern Methodist Mission in central Korea covers a wide area. In Seoul there was a new church building, dedicated in December, 1897,[59] two hospiatls, one for men and the other for women, one school for boys and one for girls, one press, a book store, and a book bindery. There were several chapels in the city, including one at East Gate and one at South Gate. But not only was there no large accession of members as in the North, but the Northern Methodist Mission suffered a great deal from the loss of Mr. Appenzeller by death, and the resignations of Mrs. M. F. Scranton and Dr. W. B. Scranton.[60] On account of the resulting inadequacy of the missionary force, the Northern Methodist Mission retreated from the eastern coast,[61] and concentrated its labor upon Western Korea. The western district, under the wise guidance of G. H. Jones, made outstanding

59 M. E. North Report for 1898, p. 264.
60 They came to America in 1902, but Dr. Scranton returned to the field in 1904.—*Ibid.* for 1904, p. 302.
61 *Ibid.* for 1902, p. 313.

progress. This success was largely due to Jones' method of work. Both Noble, who had charge of the northern district, and he, laid special emphasis on the instruction of class leaders, exhorters, and local preachers and sent them out to preach among their countrymen.[62] The membership of the Chemulpo church increased from 150 in May, 1897, to 500 in July, 1898.[63] The Annual Meeting was held on August 25, 1898.[64] In re. porting the progress of the work in Kangwha Island in 1901, Mr. Jones said "Much of the success of the work is due to the ability and wise oversight of [the] local preacher....who does excellent pastoral work."[65] The West Korea district, however, experienced reverses in the loss of membership and leaders in the seaports because of emigration to Hawaii. Mr. Jones reported the situation as follows : "A large number have gone to Hawaii, and some of its [Chemulpo Church] strongest members are engaged in the Hawaiian enterprise, giving their strength and time to it rather than to the interest of the Church."[66] The evangelistic work in Whanghai province was carried on from Chemulpo, and a few groups were gathered in the counties of Pyeng San, Yonan, Paik Chun, and Haiju. In 1900, a quarterly conference was organized at Yonan,[67] and formed the center of the work in the province. The progress, however, was slow and was hampered in 1904 by a severe famine.[68] In 1902, with a view to opening a mission station in the provice, property was bought at Haiju, the local capital.[69]

EVANGELISTIC WORK OF THE SOUTHERN METHDIST MISSION

While the Northern Methodist Mission was concentrating its efforts in West Korea, the Southern Methodist Mission was extending its activities in North Kueng Keui and the East. However, the mission was in its initial stages at the opening

62 *Ibid.* for 1898, p. 267.
63 *Ibid.* for 1897, p. 267.
64 *The Korean Repository* for August, 1898, p. 308.
65 *The Gospel in all Lands* for March, 1902, p. 133.
66 M. E. North Report for 1904, p. 312.
67 *Ibid.* for 1904, p. 285.
68 *Ibid.* for 1902, p. 322.
69 *Ibid.* for 1902, p.321.

of this period It began work at Seoul and established a chapel at Chakol, where the present Southern Methodist Girls' School is located. Seoul was to be the point from which it worked, but was not designed to be the center of its activities. "There is a perfect understanding between the Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church and our mission, so that we are not setting alter against alter, but we are working in harmony, trying to take the land for Methodism and all that it stands for. We have not tried to make the city of Seoul the center of our work, but rather [a point] from which to work."[70] Consequently, in 1897, the Southern Methodists occupied Songdo as the center of their work. The people of Songdo are very thirfty and concervative and individualistic. They are primarily merchants and are nicknamed the Jews of Korea. It was said that not a single native of the ancient city had as yet become Christian. Their attitude was well shown when it was reported to Mr. C. T. Collyer, when he reached the city in 1897, that it would be impossible to get any Songdo men to accept employment from the missionaries.[71] Yet the first Christian in Songdo was baptized in December, 1898.[72] The First South Gate Church was organized in 1899, and the North Ward Church in 1901.[73] In 1901, there were twenty-five members and thirty-five probationers in the city church.[74] In the meantime, the work in Kangwon province was making progress under the guidance of R. A. Hardie. Prior to 1901, there were no systematic efforts put forth in the province, there being only an occasional evangelistic trip by Dr. Hardie from Won-san.[75] But in March, 1901, the first Christian congregation was organized in Kangwon province, at Che Kyung Te.[76] One of the remarkable features of the work of the Southern Methodists in the pioneering period was the revivalistic efforts that they inaugurated.[77] In the

70 Report of C. F. Field, M. E. South Report for 1901, p. 37.
71 M. E. South Report for 1900, p. 35.
72 *Ibid.*
73 *Ibid.* for 1902, p. 55.
74 *Ibid.*
75 *Ibid.* for 1901, p. 38; for 1902, p. 56.
76 *Ibid.* for 1902, p. 57.
77 *Ibid.* for 1904, p. 16; for 1905, p. 9.

following chapter we shall give a fuller description of the origin and spread of the revival of the years 1906-1907. Suffice it to state here that it had its origin in Wonsan as early as 1903. Thus the Southern Methodist Mission developed a triangular territory, from Songdo to Seoul and thence to Wonsan. The Mission came into the country when the door was wide open, and adopted policies and methods which had already been proved. Its success during the brief period was great. "If you ask me to point out the most promising field of the world today, I unhesitatingly say 'Korea' " was Bishop Granston's reply to an inquiry, after his return from the Orient. "With hundreds of villages from which calls are coming for instruction, with scores of groups of native Christians diligently studying the Word of God, and with the spirit of self-maintenance and self-propagation, which characterizes the converts, the field seems 'white unto the harvest.' "[78]

EVANGELISTIC WORK IN THE SOUTHEAST

As we have noted in the preceding chapter, southeastern Korea was occupied by two missions, those of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria(Australia)and the Northern Presbyterian Church. It will be recalled that the mission of the Victoria Church was supported by two organizations, namely, the Fellowship Union in the State of Victoria and the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union. The former group sent J. H. Davies, who died on the field, and later J. H. Mackay, who was forced to return to Australia permanently, in 1893, on account of his health. In the following year, Mackay was succeeded by the Rev. A. Adamson, who had previously been connected with the British and Foreign Bible Society's work in China. Mr. Adamson settled at Choryang and extended his evangelistic activities into Ke Chei Island and Masanpo. In the meantime the representatives of the Women's Foreign Missionary Union continued their work in the Orphanage and Primary School at Fusan, and carried on evangelistic work in

78 M. E. South Report for 1901, p. 10.

the country. In order to place the work under a single supervision, in 1900, the Women's Missionary Union appointed to this field the Rev. G. Engel, who had had some experience in mission work in India. Upon his arrival he reported that he found "a well-ordered congregation of sixty-three persons."[79] Two months later, Mr. Engel baptized forty-one adults and twenty-nine children.[80] He made Fusanchin his headquarters, carried on itinerating work in the country, and held Bible training classes for church leaders. The Christian groups in the country were not organized at a central point, but a few believers were left in several localities where it was thought likely that they might lead others to the new faith. The Northern Presbyterians had two mission stations, one at Fusan in the South Kyeng Sang province, the other at Taiku in North Kyeng Sang. The work at the Fusan station made slow progress. However, there arose active Christian communities in the country, especially at Kimhai, Milyang, and Yun Dong counties along the seaboard. The extent of the work is shown in the summary report of the station for 1906, which gives 280 communicants and 252 catechumens and five church buildings[81]

The new station of Taiku was opened by Mr. J. E. Adams and W. O. Johnson, M. D. in 1897. It is a branch of the Fusan station, but is in a strategic center, reaching the whole province of North Kyeng Sang. At the beginning of the work in Taiku, Mr. Adams carried on street preaching and instructed a few inquirers.[82] In 1899, a new impetus was given by the visit of two Korean evangelists from the North. They preached among the people and assisted Mr. Adams in preliminary exploratory work in the countryside. Thus in 1900, the station reported that the professing Christians in the city alone had increased from two to twenty.[83] However, the missionaries could not give direct attention to the evangel-

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79 Annual Report for the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union for 1901, p. 7.
80 *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.
81 N. P. Report for 1906, p. 254.
72 *Ibid.* for 1900, p. 166.
83 N. P. Report for 1900, p. 166.

istic work[84] until they could make a permanent settlement. Mr. Adams had charge of the eastern part of the province and explored the section, while Mr. H. M. Bruen had the west and Mr. W. M. Barrett the north.[85] Thus churches, both in the city and in the country, were gradually established. In 1906, the Taiku station presented the following comparative statistics:[86]

	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
Groups.....	1	1	9	9	23	33	42
Communicants ...	2	4	7	12	33	59	114
Catechumens.....	5	10	21	41	80	213	714
Adherents.....	25	40	100	177	471	965	1917
Contributions	5.23	27.31	46.42	65.12	197.60	436.60	931.38

EVANGELISTIC WORK IN THE SOUTHWEST

The Southern Presbyterian Mission began to settle permanently upon the Chun-la provinces as its field of labor. We have already noted the occupation of Chunju and Kunsan stations, but neither of these centers made notable progress. Besides these two stations already founded, the opening of a third station at a point further south of the province was discussed. "The original plan was to occupy Mokpo,"[87] but, "after a thorough exploration of the province by five members of the mission, in two parties, Naju was unanimously selected in December 1896, as the place of the station," and the Rev. Eugene Bell was assigned to open it. The decision was made in favor of Naju because it was believed that the interior city was a healthy location and the center of a populous district.[88] In the spring of the following year, Mr. Bell came to Naju and purchased a house, fitting up in it a guest room where he met inquirers. In October of the same year, Mokpo was declared to be a treaty port. Then the mission reversed its former decison. The report reads:

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84 N. P. Report for 1901, p. 210.
85 *Ibid.* for 1906, pp. 363-266.
86 *Ibid.* for 1906, p. 263.
87 Annual Report of the Ex. Com. of Foreign Missions of the Presbyteria Church in the U. S. for 1897, p. 46.
88 Annual Report of the Ex. Com. of Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. for 1897, p. 45.

"In view of the unsettled condition of affairs in the East at present, it was deemed, after conference with Dr. Chester and others, advisable to establish a station at Mokpo at once. With legal headquarters at Mokpo, in case any unforeseen turn of affairs render it impossible to reside in the interior, mission work could be still carried on by itineration from that port. For this and other valid reasons, the mission had asked for appropriation to build a missionary residence at Mokpo, and assigned....Rev. Eugene Bell to this station temporarily."[89]

The pioneer soon purchased at the port a site for a building and left the work at Naju to his teacher. In 1898, two houses were built and Eugene Bell and Dr. C. C. Owen took charge. However, Mokpo did not prove satisfactory, for there was a lack of fresh water, and the rest of the field was in the interior. Hence the mission at its annual meeting, in September, 1904, decided to transfer its base to Kwangju, the capital of South Chun-la province. However, due to the lack of missionaries and the backsliding among the older converts, the work did not make rapid progress until the revivals in the following period. Nevertheless, the achievement was not small, as is seen from the following table of comparative statistics:[90]

1904				
Stations	Groups	Total communicants	Baptized during year	Catechumens received during the year
Kwangju	15	72	52	107
Chunju	14	137	68	167
Kunsan	14	219	58	30
Total	43	428	178	304

89 Annual Report of the Ex. Com. of Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. for 1897 p. 65.

90 Annual Report to the General Assembly from the Ex. Com. of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (Abv.) S. P. Report) for 1906, p. 45.

1905				
Stations	Groups	Total communicants	Baptized during year	Catechumens received during the year
Kwangju	42	218	154	583
Chungju	47	234	108	311
Kunsan	23	299	80	65
Total	112	751	342	859

THE ANGLICAN MISSION

In the preceding chapter, we intentionally did not include the evangelistic work of the Anglican missionaries, because it could hardly be said to have begun. At the foundation of the mission, in 1891, ministration to the English was inaugurated both at Chemulpo and Seoul. But "it was Bishop Corfe's wish that for the first five or six years of the Korean Mission the missionaries should refrain from attempting any direct evangelistic work, and spend the time in quiet preparation, by study of the language, literature, habits, methods of thought, etc. of the people."[91] During the period of preparation, dispensaries, and hospitals were opened for the treatment of the English and Koreans, and a printing press was set up in Seoul for the preparation of mission literature. The period of preparation expired on Christians Eve of 1896, when six catechumens were enrolled and five orphans, trained by Dr. Landis, were baptized by immersion.[92] On the next day the first Korean service from the Prayer Book was held. These events marked the beginning of the active mission work in Korea, after seven years of preparation.

The declared policy of the Anglican mission was to create "white-hot foci" rather than a "scattered pastorate."[93] Its work, therefore, was concentrated on Seoul, Chemulpo, and Kangwa. In Seoul, the chapel for the Koreans was first established at Naktong, in the southern part of the city, but in 1905 it was transferred to Chung Dong.[94] The work at

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91 C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, Vol. 2, p. 715.
92 C. P. Pascoe, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, No. 715.
93 M. N. Trollope, *The Church in Korea*, p. 30.
94 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

Chemulpo was largely the medical and religious care of foreigners. The stronghold of the Anglican Church was in Kangwa Island, which it was hoped would be "the Iona of Korea." The first evangelistic effort was begun there in 1893, the first three men were enrolled in the catechumen class in 1896, and the first baptism was administered in 1897. The development of the work in the island was comparatively rapid, so much so that by 1901 "the center of gravity of the mission had practically shifted to this station."[95] The mission had many vicissitudes. On account of the occupation of Wei-Hai-Wei,[96] the British naval ships no longer called at Chemulpo, and hospital work declined. When, in 1900, the Boxer troubles broke out in China, the entire medical staff of the Anglican mission was called to Wei-Hai-Wei "to help temporarily in the task of caring for the soldiers and sailors who had been wounded in the....expedition for the relief of the Peking Legation"[97] And on account of the predominating work by the American societies and by Roman Catholics, the Anglicans did not make much progress.[98] "The work among Koreans, which had started with two adult Christians, in 1897, had so developed that in 1904 the number of the baptized was over two hundred, including some hundred communicants. Of these, however, nearly three-fourths were in the Kangwha stations, the churches in Seoul and Chemulpo having suffered seriously from lack of continuous supervision and encouragement, owing to the constant change of clergy."[99]

SELF-SUPPORT

We have already said something of the share of the Korean Christians in the expansion of the Christian religion in Korea, especially in the north. In this period, the most productive evangelistic work was done by the Koreans them-

95 M. N. Trollope, *op. cit.* p. 65.
96 "The hospitals have been frequently visited by officers and men belonging to H. M. ships....However since the occupation ot Wei-Hai-Wei (250 miles west of Chemulpo) by the British, in 1898, the visit of H. M. ships have been rare events...." C. F. Pastoe, *op. cit.*, pp. 715, 715a, footnote.
97 M. N. Trollope, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
98 C. F. Pascoe, *op. cit.*, p. 715.
99 M. N. Trollope, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

selves. In reporting the manner of the growth of the church, a missionary wrote: "There are groups of believers sprung up all over the territory, even in places that have not been visited by a missionary, but *only* by the native helpers. At some of the places, the people have bought chapels for themselves without *even* the knowledge of the missionary."[100] Such a report might have given inspiration and encouragement to the Christian constituency at the home base. To a Korean, however, it meant self-propagation and self-support.

100 *J. S. Moose*, M. E. South Report for 1901, p. 10.

There is no wonder that Baron Yun declared: "The work is hard, very hard. No romance in a Korean Mission."[101]

In 1901, Dr. Arthur J. Brown, a secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the Northern Presbyterian Church, paid his first visit to Korea. In his report to the Board he said:

"And yet, in proportion to the results achieved, less money has been spent in developing the native work than in any other field in the world. From the beginning, Korean Christians have not been allowed to expect paid employment from missionaries, nor have they received it, except in comparatively few and clearly exceptional cases. They have been taught to live the Gospel, and to spread it, without pay, among their countrymen. We are now seeing the fulfilment of the prophecy made in the Mission Report of 1896, in which it was said that 'the native Christians have, by word of mouth, and by the printed page, and by the testimony of reformed lives, carried the gospel into hundreds of towns and villages, and could we but follow them we should see a most remarkable movement in the in-gathering of thousands of believers.' The believers meet in one another's houses until they are strong enough to build, unaided, a church. The edifice is usually a very humble one, but it is as good as the houses in which the members live, and sometimes, as in Sorai and Pyeng Yang, it is the most notable building in the community. The people prize it because it costs them something and because it is their own."[102]

In the same year the Northern Methodist Mission made an almost identical statement:

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101 T. H. Yun's letter to W. R. Lambuth of the Southern Methodist Church.—M. E. South Report for 1897, p. 31. Mr. Yun was in a position to know, for he was one of the founders of the Southern Methodist Mission and was Sunday morning preacher at the church in Seoul.—M. E. S. Report for for 1899, pp. 44-51.

102 A. J Brown, *Report of a Visitation of the Korea Mission* (1901), p. 9.

"In the section (Northern Korea) we have 20 churches wholly self-supporting. Practically the whole work has grown up within five years. At the rate of increase of last year, we shall have 10,000 members and probationers within five years, in this district alone. Now what have we for the support of the work from the Missionary Society? It amounts to $282.00, while $72 00 is appropriated for the support of a school in Pyeng Yang, which leaves $210.05 for the support of the evangelistic work in the whole North Korea."[103]

Following the Boxer troubles in China, the foreign residents in the Far East criticized the missionaries and their proselyting efforts, for they believed that these were the source of the troubles in the Orient. The editor of the *Korea Review*, defending missionary work in Korea, declared:

"During the past fifteen years, Protestant missions have brought into connection with the Christian Church between eight and ten thousand Koreans. They include men of every class, from the lowest to the highest. The only way to test a man's sincerity is to see how he acts. These Koreans have, in a vast majority of cases, made pecuniary sacrifices in joining the Christian Church. They have given generously of their money to build chapels and schools, in scores of country villages; they have rejected the custom of concubinage; suffered heavy financial loss through observance of the Sabbath; earned the suspicion of their fellow countrymen; broken down the barriers of caste; discontinued child-marriage; destroyed their fetiches; established schools; published books; given almost as much money for Indian Famine Relief, in proportion to their means, as the average of nominally Christian people in any other country in the world. Not more than two percent of them have received salaries out of foreign funds, and then only for full value received. Now, to an unprejudiced mind, these results, even from a merely social and intellectual standpoint, are worth the money and the labor expended; but when we consider that these are the result of a moral and spiritual change, which bears, in itself, the power of self-propagation, and bids fair to renovate the whole social fabric of Korea, the price paid for it is infinitesimal."[103]

Self-support is one of the aims of the churches at the home base in establishing Christian churches in mission fields. But the questions as to what and when and how are in dispute among missionary methodologists. Korea seems to offer an object lesson. First of all, self-support meant financial re-

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103 W. A. Noble, "The North Korea District," *The Gospel in All Lands* for February, 1902, pp. 92, 93.

103 *The Korea Review* for June, 1902, pp. 262, 263.

sponsibility for evangelistic work among the Koreans, by the Koreans, and the establisment and maintenance of churches and ecclesiastical activities. As to the question *when* this principle should be put into practice, the experience in Korea conclusively supports the theory of vigorous prosecution of self-support from the very beginning. The remarkable results that have been reported are the consequences of the early inauguration of the principle. As to the question *how*, the missionaries in Korea tried various methods with differing result. Every missionary adhered strictly to the Nevius method and insisted on complete self-support from the beginning. The new converts could not have church structures unless they built them, nor teachers unless they supported them. It was natural, therefore, that they should accept this as a matter of course, as the normal activity of Christians. In order to adhere to the principle, however, the Presbyterians neglected to prepare highly educated church leaders. The mission, as such, supported no students either in America or in Europe. In the second place, this policy was pushed through by appealing to the emotions of the people. Mr. A. G. Welbon said: "They (the Korean) can give, on the spur of the moment, after listening to an appeal, and be generous to a fault. Their giving....shows no plans, thought or effort. They like special collections, and if pressed, and permitted, would give everything in sight."[104] The response to an emotional appeal often resulted not only in difficulty in collecting pledges, but hampered the preparation of budgets and of programs for the future.[105] In the third place, there were some who gave money because they felt that they were not eloquent enough to preach to others, and since, in order to be a church member, one had to lead others to the church, they gave money to enable others to preach in their stead.

104 *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (February, 1915), p. 43.

105 "Each church paid by the month—or was supposed to do so, a 'supposition contrary to fact,' alas! for they soon fell behind a month or more. The result was that the people felt ashmed every time their helper came around, and the unspoken thought uppermost in the mind of both parties was salary rather than salvation."—W. D. Reynolds, "An Experiment in Self-Support," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 10, No. 5 (May 1914), p. 135.

It was a sort of indulgence to obtain admission to church membership.

However, self-support produced wholesome effects in the establishment of the Christian Church in Korea. It taught the people the spirit of independence and the habit of systematic giving and made self-propagation of the faith possible. Above all, persistence in this policy avoided the westernization of Korean Christianity and prevented in part the impression from arising that the Church was an exotic and foreign institution. The churches of the Korean Christians are humble and unattractive to Westerners, but they are the property of the natives, and further, are in the Korean style of architecture. Religious teachers were not to expound from their pulpits the philosophical problems of Christian theology, nor did they impress their congregations with Geneva gowns or Prince Albert coats. Their simple teaching and plain appearance were acceptable and congenial to their rural flocks. Furthermore, self-support not only aided the rapid naturalization of Christianity, but also hastened self-government. If "taxation without representation" is tyranny in national government, it certainly is intolerable in ecclesiastical organizations. As the people supported their work, they naturally wished their voices to be heard in mission councils. The Korean Church, therefore, became a self-governing church, without passing through a stage of ecclesiastical tutelage under the Western Church. Thus "religious imperialism" and "devolution" in missionary control, which are a prolific source of friction in India and China today, are not an acute problem in Korea. It is very possible, indeed, that the principle of self-support is the main cause of the rapid growth of the Korean Church.

The above statement will lead us to question why it was not possible to achieve the same result in other mission fields, especially in the Northern Presbyterian Mission in Shantung, China, where Dr. Nevius, the exponent of the principle, had been a missionary for many years. Dr. Underwood gave the following reasons for the meager success in China :

"The plan of strenuously urging self-support in every department

and insisting upon the same has nowhere had a fair trial. Dr. Nevius, although he never claimed to be the originator of this plan, was doubtless the one who brought it most prominently before the mission world, and yet it certainly never had a fair trial in his own district of Shantung, China, where some of his own fellow-workers in the same mission were working on the opposite principle....Shantung is, I believe, classed as one of the poorer provinces of China, and yet Chinese merchants, carpenters, builders, and others from that section, who have come to Korea, tell us that the Koreans are far poorer than the men of their own province. It certainly cannot be said that the measure of success that has been meted to our work is due to Korea's wealth."[106]

The other answer that Dr. Underwood gives for the success of the principle in Korea is that the policy was adhered to from the beginning of the mission.[107]

SELF-PROPAGATION

The work of self-propagation by the Korean Christians cannot be adequately described in these pages, for the scope of their activities is as wide as the entire evangelistic work of the missionaries. However, it will be sufficient to say that it was they who built and maintained their churches, or gave their own homes for churches,[108] established missions, organized missionary societies, formed study classes, established and maintained day schools for the education of their children, gave money for famine relief in India and for missionary work in Persia,[109] and suffered persecution for their zeal and earnestness in the propagation of the new religion. And it was often the leaders of the Korean Church who pioneered in new regions,[110] established churches, instructed new converts, preached on Sundays, visited the sick and ministered to the needy. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that these leaders and helpers were not paid agents of the missionaries. They

106 H. G. Underwood, "Principles of Self-Support in Korea," *Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 4, No. 6 (June, 1908), p. 91.
107 *Ibid.*, *lac. cit.*
108 N. P. Report for 1899, p. 161.
109 *Ibid.*, for 1899, p. 160.
110 For example, Kim Chang Sik, who stood through the persecution in connection with the opening of the Pyeng Yang station, in 1904, was transferred to Sinkai to open a new work (M. E. North Report for 1904, p. 305, 1905, p. 312) and later to Haiju for a similar purpose (*Ibid.* for 1906, p. 331).

supported themselves, remaining in their own callings, while they preached their newly acquired faith to their fellow men.[111] In the North, especially, the actual work of propaganda was most of it done by the Korean Christians.

It is interesting to inquire into the underlying causes for the extensive Christian propaganda undertaken by the newly converted Koreans. Dr. Arthur J. Brown attributes it to the simple-heartedness of the Korean people. They merely obeyed, he says, the instructions given by the missionaries.[112] But there were other causes. First of all, there is a social reason. A Korean village is generally composed of a number of closely related families. If the first man converted in the village happened to be influential, his conversion might result in the mass conversion of the village. On the contrary, when a less important member of the village became a Christian he faced a hostile environment. If he was to continue to live in the village, he had to win others to his religion. There are certain village undertakings, such as offering sacrifices to village gods, which are contrary to Christian teachings. When a man's conviction was strong enough, he made an effort to win others in the community so that he might avoid social ostracism. Again, when the majority of a village turned to the new religion, the minority either conformed or withdrew. There was a fellowship among converts that was attractive to an outsider. The Christians were sympathetic toward each other and stood together in sorrow and joy. When a man had a friend who was not a Christian, he exerted himself to win his friend into the fellowship of the Church. Thus self-propagation began within the family circle and with close friends. Not only was the fellowship an attractive feature, but by winning members of his own family and his friends a convert might do away with all possibility of persecution. There was, too, a desire for recognition. When a man brought in more believers and increased the membership of a church, he soon

111 N. P. Report for 1899, p. 164.
112 A. J. Brown, *Report of a Visitation of the Korea Mission* (1901), p. 18.

became a leader, and from that an elder or a local preacher. A shrewd observer of the Korean Church once wrote:

"The relation between pastor or elders and the lay believers is something like that between rulers and subjects.... Pastors and elders always try to stand above the laity while the latter accept their ruling and interference as a matter of course.... Pastors and elders of the Korean Church today stand above their lay brethren, trying to enjoy superior privileges in all things."[113]

We must not ignore the political reasons. The people began to realize that one of the chief reasons for the disorganization of the country was the existence of factions that controlled the government; factional groups, such as the pro-Japanese, pro-Chinese, and pro-Russian parties, were leading the country to destruction. They felt strongly that the only way to unite the people was to adopt some religious or unified political program. Ambitious political leaders, moreover, saw the possibility of gaining the support of the large and wide-awake group of people in the churches if they allied themselves with them. The greater the support, the better off would be the politician. Consequently he made an effort to gather new church members and zealously prosecuted religious work. It will not be an overstatement to say that during the Japanese protectorate the rapid increase in church membership was largely due to this cause. There were, too, leaders of progressive movements, such as Philip Jaisohn and Baron Yun, who were Christians. The masses looked up to them and followed their religion as well as their political ideas.

Last of all, there was a religious cause for the sudden rise of the Christian Church. It has often been said that one of the rules for becoming a church member was bringing at least another convert to the Church.[114] Dr. C. C. Vinton says:

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113 Yi Kwang Su, "Defects of the Korean Church Today," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 14, No 12 (December, 1916), p. 253.

114 In regard to the origin and practice of the custom, Dr. Moffett says: "To Yi Yeng En.... I ascribe the greatest influence in the development of this spirit [evangelistic or self-propagating] in our northern work. He never allowed a man to pass the examination for admission to the catechumenate or the Church without impressing upon him this as his first duty and privilege as a

"If any one have not this spirit (evangelistic) his fitness as a candidate for baptism is strongly doubted. Whenever a man or woman has taken the name of Christian, there the fact is being published and evidenced, according to that individual's light, by good works and by an effort to lead others to accept Christ."[115] Thus in order to be enrolled as a regular church member it became almost necessary for the candidate to preach his faith to others. When a man passes through transforming religious and moral experiences, he naturally desires to share them with others. This spirit is especially characteristic of Christianity, not only because of its claim to universality but because of its ideal of love that urges people to reach others, especially those who are not fortunate.

THE STATUS OF MISSIONARIES

"What is the status of a missionary in a foreign field?" In a previous chapter we noted that the missionaries are usually pastors and administrators. Missionary authorities differ here, however. Mr. John Ross of Manchuria wrote: "The missionary is not a pastor, nor should he ever sink into the *mere* pastor. He is the modern representative, and the only representative of the Apostles of the early church. As the 'Apostle' was the 'sent' of the primitive church, to preach Christ where he was unknown, so the missionary is the 'sent' of the modern church, to do the same work. The missionary is not a pastor, but the founder of churches, and the trainer of pastors he is to ordain over those churches."[116] As a matter of fact, however, the missionaries in Korea soon

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Christian. From him came the practice of questioning the advisability of admitting to the Church any one who had not first made known to his family and neighbors what great things the Lord had done for him. I do not hesitate to place this as the foremost factor in the widespread development of our work in Northern Korea."—S. A. Moffett, "Policy and Methods in the Evangelization of Korea," *The Korea Mission Field* for November, 1904, p. 196.

115 C. C. Vinton, "The Latest Advance in Korea," *Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. XIII, No. 5 (May, 1900), p. 368.

116 Quoted by A. J. Brown, *Report of a Visitation of the Korea Mission*, pp. 18, 19.

ceased to be founders of the Church and became organizers.[117]

On account of the self-propagating work of the Korean Christians, the missionaries ceased pioneer work and direct preaching to the people. They settled in mission compounds and from them directed the missionary activities of the Koreans. Thus their work became institutional, with schools and training classes. Since there were as yet no ordained ministers, missionaries made occasional trips into the country, visiting churches and administering the sacraments. The district which is placed under a resident missionary is called a *circuit*, and the missionary in charge generally visits these country churches twice a year or oftener. Mr. J. G. Holdcroft writes:

"The nearest approach America knows to an evangelistic missionary's life in Chosen is that of the circuit rider of pioneer days. Such a missionary usually has from twelve to seventy-five churches under his care, some comprised of groups of about twenty people, others having as many as 600 members; some only two or three miles apart, others separated by thirty miles. In the latter case, a day's travel is required to go from one to the other church——travel made slow because a missionary, like an army, though perhaps mounted on horse or bicycle, must nevertheless "travel on his stomach" through a hotelless, spare-roomless, bedless land. Therefore at least a few blankets and provisions must be laden on a tough, slow-footed, thirty-miles-a-day traveling pack-pony, led by a horse boy, to whom the flight of time means naught.

"The average circuit rider visits his churches twice a year. For these visits appointments are made, often months in advance. In 'swinging 'round the circuit' it is often late afternoon or evening before

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117 "It is the third time that this faithful brother [Kim Chang Sik] has been placed out upon the frontier alone. He won a glorious record in the early days at Pyeng Yang, and then at Samwha, and now, like St. Paul, he is building upon no man's foundation."—M. E. North Report for 1902, p. 317. "I have told my helpers, time and time again, not to open any more new places until these we have are well established."—Elmer M. Cable's Report, *Ibid.* for 1905, pp. 318, 319. "The time has come when the foreigners must hand over the details of the church administration, and baptism and training of catechumens to the native ministry, and to give himself to the higher educational work of training for the ministry and the preparing of books for a Christian reading public.' —W. B. Scranton, *The Gospel for All Lands* for March, 1902, p. 132.

the appointed church is reached. Usually he is escorted to a low room, perhaps ten feet square, in a thatched or occasionally tiled house. This room has been especially 'cleaned' for the use of the missionary. Even so, it is better not to look under the mats. Sometime, to be sure, the circuit rider would prefer to stay outside, but courtesy forbids ; and so he sits on the floor for hours, examining church records, conferring with officers, and examining candidates for baptism, or for the timid entrance into the catechumenate.

"This work, with the church service following, often takes until midnight. When at length one lies down to rest, it is by no means assured. for in nearly all Korean houses there are many 'preventatives of sleep,' while outside, across the fifteen foot courtyard, are horses, cows, pigs and chickens, some of which retire late and some of which arise early. In the morning, after breakfast and prayers, the circuit rider is away again. For months each year, this is a daily experience."[118]

THE TRAINING CLASS SYSTEM

During the period there were evolved four types of training class systems to fit Korean Christians for the work of the Church. The first of these was a general Bible study class, which was, and still is, generally held during the winter months, when the people have leisure, at a central point within the jurisdiction of a mission station. Then there was, and still is, the local Bible study class, in individual churches or groups of closely adjacent churches. The third type is the "officers' institute," which is held for two or three weeks during the summer months, for church officers only. The fourth is the logical outcome of the third, namely, theological training for the Christian ministry.

We have already indicated the beginning of the Bible training class system. It was the custom to select in each church the outstanding Christians as leaders to take charge of the services, to exercise the oversight of the congregation, and to report progress to the missionary in charge. These leaders were gathered once a year at some central point and instructed in the Bible and in the general usages of the Christian Church. As the number of Christians increased, not

118 J. G. Holcroft, "Modern Circuit Rider," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 13, No. 9 (September) 1917, p. 217.

only did these leaders become numerous, but there arose the necessity of training the great body of the laity. Consequently the general Bible study class for all Christians began. The old Korean New Year season, as the period of the year most convenient for the Christians, was adopted for the time of this general class. Consequently a large number of people generally attended.[119] Many of them traveled long distances and made sacrifices to be present.[120] They supported themselves during the week to ten days' session. As to the course of instruction, the Bible was the main subject, though certain general educational precepts, hygienic helps, and popular lectures were not lacking. "The usual program is a sunrise prayer and song service....After breakfast all meet for a half-hour devotional exercise, after which they scatter for the morning Bible-study."[121] The whole group is divided into several classes, according to the previous training of the members. In the afternoons, instruction in singing hymns is given for an hour. Then conferences and various discussions are held on matters concerning church problems, such as Sunday observance, church government, Sunday school problems educational programs aud disciplinary questions."[122] Sometimes the afternoons were given over to evangelistic work, carried on by visiting from house to house. In the evenings evangelistic and inspirational meetings and popular lectures were held. For the country people, it always formed an important part of the program to visit the Mission compound, where the missionaries lived, and to see the missionaries' families. The general class was a Bible institute, a religious convention and an educational Chautauqua.[123] Moreover, this gathering, "gives to the average Christian his sense of relationship to a

129 In 1904 there were 610 who attended the class at Pyeng Yang, and 434 at Syen Chyun in the same year.——N. P. Report for 1905, pp. 247, 254. In the following year, 733 attended the Syen Chyun class. ——*Ibid.*, for 1906, p. 270.
120 N. P. Report for 1905, p. 254.
121 N. P. Report for 1905, p. 246.
122 M. E. North Report for 1905, p. 309.
123 *Missionary Review of the World*, N. S. Vol. 16, No. 11 (November, 1903), p. 235.

living organization, and thereby establishes the *esprit de corps* of the Church.[124] There were women's general Bible training classes held annually, in the early spring. The nature of the work was similar to that of the men's classes.

"Perhaps the most important matter connected with these classes is their evangelistic nature. Though their first object is to give Bible instruction to the Christians, they have become almost universally an opportunity for house-to-house preaching, so that a training class usually means a revival in the church where it is held, and thorough presentation of the Gospel in the whole village or city."[125]

The local Bible study class was held when a convenient time could be arranged in the local church. It was for the edification of the members of the particular church and was also used as an occasion for reaching unbelievers. The period for the class was not longer than three to five days. Bible study in the mornings, visiting unbelievers in the afternoons, and evangelistic services in the evenings, were the program for such a class. At times these classes were conducted by missionaries, with the assistance of the Korean helpers and elders of the church. In later years, these local classes have been entirely under the charge of Korean pastors and elders. Such classes were also arranged for women, conducted by lady missionaries assisted by Bible women.[126]

In view of the rapid growth of the work, it was deemed necessary to begin a more thorough training of selected men. This was the cause for the existence of the Bible Institute. "Students at Bible Institute fall naturally into two classes, those whose studies have only a personal subjective value and interest and those who are studying definitely to increase their efficiency in evangelism or teaching, whether in country class or Sunday School.... Practice varies in the different insti-

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124 W. C. Erdman, "Bible Classes and Bible Institutes," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 10, No. 12, (December, 1914), p. 366.

125 N. P. Report for 1906, p. 258.

126 On account of the strict division between the sexes, Bible-women were employed for the work among the Korean women. They were helpers to women missionaries, colporteurs, evangelists, teachers, and leaders of the Korean women.

tutes....Some institutes make a specialty of normal work, and train a set of teachers to present a definite course of study at some class or classes held elsewhere. Some have a special course for Sunday School teachers, based on the lessons for the ensuing year, so that some of the teachers, at least, may be prepared to do better work in their local churches, in that line. Some institutes confine their courses to the study of the contents and use of the Scriptures, while others give a large proportion of time to topics connected with church life and organization."[127]

This need brought forth the officers' training class system. These classes were exclusively for the officers of churches and served two purposes. On the one hand, they trained local church leaders, and on the other they prepared theological students. Out of these came the Korean assistants, colporteurs, local preachers, and elders. During the long years of the process of training, the men's Christian knowledge was increased, their religious convictions were strengthened, and their general education was improved. In the early stages of theological education, classes for ministers were held in connection with these officers' classes.[128]

THEOLOGICAL TRAINING

The first theological seminary for the training of Korean ministers was begun in 1901, by the Presbyterian Mission at Pyeng Yang.[129] In that year the Presbyterian Mission received two elders of the Central Presbyterian church in that city and instructed them, with the hope of ordaining them to the ministry. In the following year four more were added, making a total of six. These men were active workers in churches in the country and could not be kept in school for long periods. Accordingly, a plan was adopted whereby they could study three months in the year, completing the whole course of training in five years. In 1905, the Council of

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127 W. C. Erdman, *op. cit.*, pp. 368,369.
128 M. E. North Report for 1904, pp. 310,311.
129 H. A. Rhodes, "Presbyterian Theological Seminary," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 6, No. 5, (June, 1901), p. 129.

Missions Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government approved the five-year plan, and inaugurated a Union Theological Seminary at Pyeng Yang. In the following year there were three classes enrolled, with forty students. The Methodist Mission had not yet established a seminary, but gave intensive training to promising leaders, exhorters, and local preachers.[130]

The candidates for the ministry were not men of academic training. Their theological course was not based on a philosophical treatment of Christianity; the instruction was almost entirely Biblical. The seminary was, in reality, a Bible training school for Christian workers. However, courses on church history, Biblical theology, practical theology, and general academic studies were added.[131]

SELF-GOVERNMENT

In the foregoing pages we have discussed self-support, self-propagation, and the training of men for church leadership. It is therefore logical for us to inquire into the degree of self-government. In 1901, Dr. A. J. Brown declared: "From the viewpoint of ecclesiastical organization, the Korean church is an anomaly."[132] In the Council of Missions Holding the Presbpterian Form of Government there was not at the end of this period, a single ordained Korean minister.[133] However, steps were taken in 1893 toward the organization of churches and the formation of ecclesiastical courts. It will be recalled that in 1902 the three Presbyterian Missions formed a council, which was the highest court of all the Presbyterian Mission churches in Korea. When the Canadian Presbyterian Mission began its work, it became a member of the Council, for the aim was the organization of one Presby-

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130 M. E. Report for 1892, pp. 25,26. The M. T. S. was not founded until 1907.—"The Methodist Theological Seminary," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (September, 1915), p. 100.

131 For the outline of the course, see The Minutes of Annual Meeting of the Council of Missions for 1902, pp. 21-24.

132 A. J. Brown, *Report of a Visitation of the Korea Mission* (1901), p. 13.

133 In 1901 there were four elders in all the Presbyterian churches in Korea.—A. J. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

terian Church in Korea. In order to realize this end, these four Missions each requested their "Board of Missions, Executive Committee, or Ecclesiastical Court having jurisdiction over [them], for liberty to cooperate in the organization of an independent Korean Presbyterian Church."[134] Upon the receipt of the memorial from the missionaries, the General Assembly of the Northern Presbyterian Church enthusiastically sanctioned the request.

"That the Assembly records its approval of the plan to organize in Korea a Union Presbyterian Church, in conjunction with the missionaries and Korean Christians connected with the Presbyterian church in the United States (commonly known as the Southern Presbyterian Church), the Presbyterian Church of Canada and the Presbyterian Church of Australia, and that the missionaries of your church in Korea be and hereby are authorized to unite with the missionaries and Korean Christians, of any or all the other churches named, in all necessary steps to this end."[135]

In the Southern Presbyterian Church the memorial was discussed for three years. The main point of dispute was the relationship of a new missionary to his home Presbytery and the Presbytery in Korea. The relationship that the missionaries requested to be granted was that:

"That missionaries who are members of this Presbytery [the Presbytery in Korea] shall be members of the same only so far as concerns the rights and privileges of voting and participating in all its proceedings, but ecclesiastically they shall be subject to the authority and discipline of their respective home churches, retaining their full ecclesiastical connection with those churches."

The question involved was

"not whether, in the event an independent native Presbytery were in existence in.....Korea, and such Presbytery should admit the foreign evangelists to seats in its body with the rights of discussion and voting, the General Assembly should forbid the foreign evangelists to accept such rights and privileges; but the question [was] whether the General Assembly shall authorize the foreign evangelists to constitute, in connection with the native Christians, an independent Presbytery, in which the foreign evangelists shall exercise the rights of discussion

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134 For the full text of the document, see Appendix F.—The Minutes of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Council of Missions, p. 13.

135 Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. for 1905.p. 124.

and of voting, without being amenable to the discipline of the Presbytery, and at the same time be a member in full standing of his Presbytery at home."[136]

The General Assembly declined the request, but because it had been recommended unanimously by the missionaries in the field, and agreed upon as the best by all the Presbyterian missions working in Korea, the Executive Committee recommended that the General Assembly "cooperate with other Presbyterian missions in the organization of one united Presbyterian church in Korea, and 'to take all such steps as may be necessary and as may be in conformity with Presbyterian principles' to complete the formation and to secure the independence of the proposed United Presbyterian Church, in Korea."[137] The actual organization of the Presbyterian Church, with its proper courts, was not constituted until 1907, and we shall therefore discuss it in the following chapter.

The Methodist Mission, however, having the episcopal form of government, made more rapid progress in church organization than the Presbyterian Church, which has the republican form of government. On May 14, 1901, the Methodist Bishop, David H. Moore, ordained Kim Chang Sik and Kim Keui Pum[138] as deacons, which qualified them only to administer the rite of baptism and to perform the marriage ceremony. These two were the first men ordained into the Protestant Ministry in Korea. But as far as the church organization was concerned, up to that year the entire empire of Korea constituted one Presiding Elder's district, with three mission stations, at Seoul, Chemulpo, and Pyeng Yang. The work was growing so vast, centering on these three stations, that in the same year the Bishop organized the three mission stations into three Presiding Elders' districts.[139] In the annual meeting of the mission in 1903 action was taken to memorial-

136 S. P. Report for 1905 ; *The Missionary*, Vol. 38, No. 5, pp. 207, 208.
137 *Ibid.*
138 Official Minutes of the Annual Meeting of Korea Mission M. E. Church for 1901, pp. 18, 21.
139 See the appointments for the year.—Official Minutes of the Annual Meeting of Korea Mission M. E. Church for 1901, pp. 20, 21.

ize the next General Conference of the church which was to meet in the following spring, asking permission to organize it as a Mission Conference.[140] By the "Enabling Act" of the Quadrennial General Conference, which met at Los Angeles in May, 1904, power was granted the Korea Mission to organize a Mission Conference,[141] and at the same gathering Dr. H. C. Harris, who had served the Church for many years as a missionary in Japan, was elected as the missionary Bishop for Japan and Korea.[142] The Episcopal residence, however, was in Japan. Thus the Methodist Mission became a Mission Conference with a supervising bishop.

Missionaries in different countries have pursued various methods in organizing churches. In some lands, ecclesiastical courts have been constituted by the missionaries themselves, even before the existence of converts, and the nationals were admitted, one by one, as they developed in church leadership. In such missions, the missionaries themselves, from the beginning, dominated the administration and government of the church, with the result that a foreign institution rather than a national church was created. In Korea, church organi zation received very slight emphasis. In the case of the Presbyterian missions in Korea, until 1901 the Korean Christians had no voice in the Council meetings.[143] Even then, participation was in the form of conference for instruction of the Korean helpers in ecclesiastical matters, rather than the assemblage of a church court. There were two Council sessions, one in English and the other in Korean. The missionaries attended both, while the Koreans participated in the latter only.[144]

The theory of deferred organization evidently was adopted in order to train the Korean Christians to maturity in the faith, so that when an organization was formed, it should be composed of a Korean ministry. However, the Church is not a company of perfect saints, but an institution

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140 *Ibid.*, for 1903, pp. 12, 16.
141 M. E. North Report for 1904, p. 21.
142 *Ibid.*, p. 22.
143 C. A. Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Korea*, pp. 228-231.
144 *Ibid.*, pp. 8-13 *et seq*.

for the furtherance of spiritual life and the strengthening of Christian character. Since there were not many organized churches, a good part even of the baptized Christians were not members. This unintentionally created a distinction between admission to the church and admission to the sacraments. However, the average Korean did not know church polity, nor did he care much for the complexities of organization. Whether they were qualified to be members of an organized church or not, the converts supported church work and functioned as a church; they were a church in every respect except in formal organization and the presence of ministers and elders. The church was suffering from the weaknesses of the early missionary endeavors. The educated classes had not been reached, and the training of ministers had been neglected. There were, therefore, lacking men qualified for elders and ministers.

EDUCATIONAL WORK IN SEOUL

This brings us to the educational work of the period. First of all, there was the Methodist school for boys, known as Pai Chai Haktang, in the capital. The school was fairly prosperous during the period covered by this chapter, in spite of changes in the personnel of the teaching staff. After the closing of the Presbyterian school for boys, Pai Chai had to itself the entire field of Christian education in the capital. In 1899, the mission requested the Mission Board to apply $35,000 of the Twentieth Century Fund to educational work in Korea,[145] in order to found a college and seminary,[146] but the request was denied. Mr. Appenzeller, the founder, was released from the school on account of his Bible translation work.[147] However, he gave his spare time and thought to the institution until his lamented death in 1902.

Mr. Appenzeller had suggested that the two Methodist missions cooperate in the school, and while the negotiations

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145 Official Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Korea Mission, M. E. Church, for 1899, p. 10.
146 M. E. North Report for 1900, p. 290.
147 *Ibid.*, p. 281.

were being carried on, the relationship with the Educational Department of the Korean government was terminated, due to the failure on the part of the school authorities to renew the contract.[148] From the spring of 1895, the Korean government had sent a certain number of students to the school and paid their tuition. The termination of this agreement resulted in a decrease in the number of students and in the income of the school.[149] In 1903, the two branches of the Methodist Church "joined hands in Pai Chai,"[150] and it was agreed that the school was to be thoroughly reorganized. The reorganization was begun by laying out a new course of study. The principal of the school reported as follows:

"The course, as it now stands, covers a period of seven years, and comprises a complete general history of the world, with special work on Korean, Chinese and Japanese history; a complete course in mathematics, physics, chemistry, international law, political economy, botany, and systematic daily study of the Bible with each class.[151]

Another innovation was a change in the medium of instruction. The courses outlined here were to be taught in Korean. It was declared to be the policy of the school authorities to remove the English courses from the curriculum. In the program of the reorganization, a "wholesome change of teachers was included. The new teaching force consisted of Mr. Charles G. Hounshell, the representative of the Southern Methodist Mission, D. A. Bunker of the Northern Methodist Mission, and two newly appointed Korean teachers. In this year the first scholarship was established and the boarding house system was inaugurated.

The response to the reorganized school on the part of the young men was rather discouraging, for the principal reported a "noticeable reverse" in the number of students. Perhaps one of the greatest surprises of the first year was the first "student strike" in the history of educational work in Korea. A few days after the opening of the school, a letter

148 M. E. North Report for 1902, p. 323.
149 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
150 *Ibid.* for 1903, p. 370.
151 M. E. North Report for 1903, p. 370.
152 *Ibid.*, p. 371.

of protest, signed by twenty students, was sent to the principal stating that the religious teaching in the school was distasteful and that they would leave the school if it were not dropped from the curriculum.[152] The school dismissed the protestants without taking the trouble of studying the cause for their reaction, or attempting conciliation.[153] Most of them soon returned to the school.

In the second year of the reorganization, the educational board of the two missions decided that all students "who accept the benefits of instruction in English should pay a tuition fee of not less than fifty cents per month. This ruling has greatly reduced the number of students in the department. Not more than one-quarter of the students this year are taking English."[154] While the elimination of the English course was in progress, instruction in the Bible was strengthened. Mr. Hounshell reported:

"She [Pai Chai] stands first and always for the education of Methodist boys and the sons of Methodist parents. If others come, and conform to our religious rites, we welcome them and are glad to teach them. All students are required to be regular in their attendance at church and daily prayers. The Bible is the leading text book. Each class has one lesson in Bible every day. No student can pass through our course of study without a knowledge of the great principles and doctrines of the Christian religion. Special efforts to persuade each student to accept Jesus Christ as his personal Saviour are made by both teachers and Christian students."[155]

In the same year, "by the assistance of Mr. P. L. Gillett, general secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association in Korea, the students of Pai Chai have organized among themselves a Young Men's Christian Association, thus claiming the honor of having the first of its kind in Korea."[156]

In spite of the reorganization and innovations, the enrollment in 1904 was the unimpressive number of twenty-three.[157] The change in the nature of the school was evident-

153 M. E. North Report for 1903 p. 370.
154 M. E. South Report for 1904, pp. 54, 55.
155 *Ibid.*, p. 55.
156 M. E. North Report for 1904, p. 309.
157 *Ibid.*, pp. 308, 309.

ly the chief reason for this decline. This changing purpose was described in the following report of the one-time principal of the school, the Rev. C. G. Hounshell :

"Our purpose is to build up an educational system, with Pai Chai as the central college, and preparatory schools in all the towns and villages, manned by Pai Chai students as teachers."[158]

Then he continued : "If only we had teachers, we could already gather together groups of boys in many towns where churches have been organized."[159] However, in the opinion of Mr. Bunker, training teachers for rural schools was not the aim of the institution, nor was the lack of teachers the problem, but the undesirability of the city boys was the cause of the slow progress. Mr. Bunker reported :

"We had dealt with city boys for fifteen years or more, and the results were far from satisfactory. The demand for preachers and teachers was not being met. We were anxious to get hold of the boys in the Christian families in the country and to hold them until they were fitted for the work of our church."[160]

Consequently, in order to make a new experiment, he got scholarships for these country boys and filled the school. "All went merrily until a lot of the boys got homesick and fled pell-mell for home.[161] Another reason why students were not attracted was the withdrawal of the English courses. At the opening of the school, in 1905, fifty students enrolled, but "many of them who came wanted English, primarily, and took other branches simply because the curriculum required them.... Within a day or two, quite half of the school had gone elsewhere in search of English."[162] In the light of this report, Mr. Hounshell's statement that "the Koreans want English but their desire for it is not strong enough to induce them to pay a fee"[163] can hardly be sustained.

The chief argument against teaching English was not that

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158 M. E. North Report p. 57.
159 M. E. North Report for 1904, p. 57.
160 *Ibid.* for 1905, p. 314.
161 *Ibid.*, p. 315.
162 *Ibid.*, p. 317.
163 Official Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Korea Mission, M. E. Church, for 1904, pp. 54, 55.

English effected denationalization but that it was unproductive in the making of Korean ministers. On the other hand, those who argued for English held:

"There has been a serious slip made lately in all our mission schools in Korea, in dropping the teaching of the English language, or at least in relegating it to so unimportant a place in the curriculum that it is practically a useless study, and as it now stands it rather cumbers the schedules. Now the teaching of English can have but one purpose in our school. It is in itself a valueless study. The Korean people need English, first because there are no text books in the Korean language to meet the present demand, and never will be. We cannot keep up with the demand, from now on. They need English, secondly, in order that they may be brought, as speedily as possible, in touch with all the learning that language has in store for them.[164]

The educational work for girls in the capital was carried on during the period by three agencies: the Northern Methodists, in the Ewha Haktang; the Northern Presbyterians, in the girls' school; and the Southern Methodists, in the Carolina Institute. The largest and best equipped was Ewha Haktang. Perhaps four events during the period are outstanding. In 1897, the girls requested that Chinese be restored to the curriculum.[165] We record this incident because it reveals the desire of the girls to pursue the same studies as their brothers, and because, at the same time, it reflects a new spirit in the girls. Whether right or wrong, the action was a new departure in the life of Korean girls. The second outstanding event in the history of the Ewha Haktang was the construction of a new and stately two-story brick structure as a home and school for the girls. Construction was started in 1897, under the painstaking superintendence of Miss Lulu E. Frey, who was then the new principal. When it was completed, in 1901, the building was able to accommodate four workers and one hundred and twenty pupils.[166] In that year it was reported that there were seventy-six students. The other changes were the emphasis

164 W. B. Scranton, in Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Korea Mission Conference for 1906, pp. 31, 32.

165 Annual Report of the New York Branch of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1896 and 1897, p. 36.

166 Annual Report of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the M. E. Church for 1901, p. 183.

on the religious instruction of the girls and the beginning of a self-help system for them.[167]

The Misses Susan A. Doty and Katherine Wambold had charge of the Northern Presbyterian School for girls, in Seoul,[168] but this work was so overshadowed by evangelistic efforts that we have no report of it. In 1905, Miss M. B. Barrett, the principal, reported as follows:

"The girls have done their reciting one-half the day; worked the other half, and studied in the evening. Besides doing all their own housework, they have done sewing, knitting, etc., on orders."[169]

In that year the Northern Presbyterians were negotiating with the Methodists for union work. Pending the action of the missions, no suitable school building was provided.[170]

The educational work of the Southern Methodist Mission was not confined to cooperation at Pai Chai alone. In 1898, the Women's Branch of the Mission sent to Korea Mrs. Josephine P. Campbell, who had served the mission in China for ten years, and who brought with her a Chinese woman doctor, Miss Yu.[171] Their headquarters were established at Chakal, in the northwestern part of the capital, and there they began work among girls and women. In October of that year Mrs. Campbell took in an orphan girl. She also opened work for women by sending out Bible-women to the city and into the adjacent counties, while Dr. Yu treated the sick. When the work was established, the Chinese returned to her homeland. The little school begun by Mrs. Campbell was supported by Christian people in North and South Carolina, so it was named the Carolina Institute. The school gradually grew until, in 1900 the number of girls reached thirty. In the spring of that year the missionaries occupied a large new building, where they lived and taught.[172] The institution, however, was still a "charity school."[173] Toward the end of

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167 Annual Report W. F. M. S. of the M. E. Church for 1903, p. 156.
168 N. P. Report for 1899, p. 167.
169 *Idid.* for 1906, p. 243.
170 *Ibid.*, p. 244.
171 *Korean Repository* for October, 1898, p. 395.
172 M. E. South Report for 1901, pp. 40, 41.
173 "Carolina Institute," J. P. Campbell, *K. M. F.*, Vol. 3, No. 9 (September, 1907), p. 139.

the period under our review, a building was completed at the cost of $3,000, and school desks and necessary school furnishings were introduced. The enrollment of the school in 1906-1907 was fifty-six.[174]

It will be recalled that the Northern Presbyterian Mission closed its "Jesus' Doctrine School" in 1897, but the Mission realized its mistake, and as the younger mission station at Pyeng Yang was making rapid progress in educational work the demand for a Christian school in the capital became urgent. The Mission Board also saw that "the great need of Korea" was educational. In 1902, the Board made an appropriation of $4,657 for a boys' intermediate school,[175] and despatched E. H. Miller to take charge. Commenting on his arrival, the Seoul station described him as "the future principal of our ideal institution."[176] However, prior to the arrival of Mr. Miller, Dr. J. S. Gale opened a school upon "the high Christian ideal."[177] In the third year of its history, in 1904, the school had "no facilities in the way of building and equipment,"[178] although it had twenty-nine pupils enrolled who were taught the following subject: history—English, Korean, and Church; science—astronomy, natural history, geography, physics, and algebra; Bible—courses on the Life of Christ, Gospel of St. John, and Old Testament theology, besides shorter courses on Romans and Ephesians, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and Ten Commendment.[179] The curriculum shows the nature and the aim of the school.

In 1905, when Mr. E. H. Miller took charge, the "Intermediate School" of the Northern Presbyterian Mission and the Pai Chai Haktang of the two Methodist missions united tentatively for one year. The Presbyterians appointed E. H. Miller and A. A. Pieters to represent their work,[180] while

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174 J. P. Campbell, *op. cit. loc. cit.*
175 N. P. Report for 1903, p. 19.
176 *Ibid.*, p. 211.
177 *Ibid. loc. cit.*
178 *Ibid.* for 1905, p, 242.
179 N. P. Report for 1906, p. 242.
180 Official Minutes of the Korea Mission Conference of the M. E. Church for 1906, p. 41.

Bunker and Hounshell continued their services. The school work was carried on at the Pai Chai building at Chung Dong. In the meantime, a new building was being erected by the Presbyterians at Yun-mot-kol, into which they hoped to move in the following year.[181] However, when the school closed in June, 1906, the union was terminated. The Superintendent of the Northern Methodists said :

"It cannot be denied that a union in school-teaching among the various missions will result in a better school than perhaps either can expect help for from home individually...but it is not only excellence in school work that we aim at, but the strengthening of our individual mission by aid of the school arm, and in this I claim that we are injured by this union. This union of schools is but one step toward organic union between two churches, whose diverse traditions and conflicting views and unharmonized working policy would entail among us no end of friction and serious loss, without the promise of any but a sentimental gain."[182]

These words of the Superintendent of the Northern Methodist Mission show clearly the attitude of some of the early missionaries.

In 1904, the Northern Presbyterian Mission in Korea planned the observance of the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the mission and invited the President of the Foreign Mission Board, the Rev. John D. Wells, to attend ; but Dr. Wells died without acknowledging the invitation. Soon after his death, there was found among his papers a letter addressed to the Korea Mission expressing his interest in the mission and his regret for his inability to accept the invitation. His family also took an interest in Korea and gave the Mission Board $ 6,300 for the boys' school in Seoul.

As expressed in the official report, the school was intended exclusively for the training of ministers. The report reads :

"One of the most urgent needs in Korea today is the development of a native ministry, and it is singularly fitting that the influence of one who consecrated so many years of his life to the preaching of the Gospel

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181 E. H. Miller "The John D. Wells Training School," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 2. No. 10 (August, 1906), p. 182.
182 Official Minutes of the Korea Mission Conference for 1906, p. 30.

should be perpetuated in an institution in the capital of Korea, whose object is the training of a ministry of the same gospel."[183]

This fact was also clearly brought out again in the same report, for the item of the Wells donation was recorded under the heading of "Training Class," which is a sub-topic under "Evangelistic" work, while the report of the "Intermediate" school was given under the heading of "Educational Work of the Seoul Station."[184] The new building, which was erected in 1905, was ready for occupancy when the school opened in the fall of 1906. Having separated from the union with the Methodists, the Presbyterian Mission alone was responsible for the institution and named it "The John D. Wells Training School for Christian Workers."

EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE NORTHWEST

During this period, the city of Pyeng Yang became the center of the Christian movement in Korea, taking the leading place in the evangelistic and educational advance. During the nine years from 1897 to 1906, out of almost nothing, a secondary school or academy and a college arose. The success of the educational work in Pyeng Yang was largely due to Rev. William M. Baird, Ph. D., his gifted wife, Annie Adams Baird, and Arthur L. Becker. It will be recalled that Dr. Baird arrived in Korea in 1890 and settled at Fusan, where he did pioneering evangelistic work until 1896, when he was transferred to Seoul. In the following year he severed his connection with the school at Seoul.[185] At the

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183 N. P. Report for 1905, p. 241.

184 *Ibid.*, for 1905, pp. 240, 241.

185 As we have shown in the preceding chapter, Dr. Baird was transferred to Seoul to extend the educational program. When he came to the capital it was explicitly understood that the "Jesus' Doctrine School" was to be moved from Chung Dong, but due to lack of funds, this was not carried out. Mr. F. S. Miller took charge of the school during the year, while Dr. Baird started a day-school at Kon-Dang Kol, but neither of them was successful. Dr. Baird, in his report to the mission in 1897, stated that it was clear either he or Mr. Miller had to leave Seoul. In the meantime, his furlough was about due. In view of these facts, Dr. Baird resigned his connection with that particular school. In the same report he made a statement which formed his educational policy. He said: "Should a suitable site be secured elsewhere, and should

Annual Meeting of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, Dr. Baird was transferred to the Pyeng Yang station, "to aid in organizing that needy field."[186] He founded a school at Pyeng Yang and labored as its head for many years. At the present time he devotes his time to literary work. It is not our intention to give here a full biographical note of Mrs. Annie Adams Baird, but, as Dr. Arthur J. Brown says, "The history of the development of the Church of God in that land (Korea) can never be properly written without grateful mention of the twenty-six years that this consecrated servant of God devoted to its evangelization."[187] Mrs. Baird was a gifted writer, a devoted wife, and the saintly mother of five children. She not only helped her husband in evangelistic and educational work, but was a pioneer in translating text books. The large volumes through which hundreds of the writer's contemporaries learned the first lessons in zoology, botany, and, later, general history, are her work. She was also the author of a text on the language which aided many young missionaries, and of a book on transforming the life of the Korean people which stimulated interest at the home base. There has been no one lady missionary who has left more notable literary product than Mrs. Baird.

Rev. Arthur L. Becker, Ph. D., is a scholar of note among missionaries to Korea. He is a trained mathematician and accomplished physicist. Dr. Becker claims a double share in educational work, having served the Union Christian College at Pyeng Yang and Chosen Christian College, at Seoul, as acting President and Vice-President.

In 1909, Dr. Baird, writing on the history of the educational work of the Northern Presbyterian Mission in Korea, said: "When the educational side of the work was finally

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there be a reasonable prospect of securing a sufficient number of promising, not pauper, pupils, who were desirous of obtaining a Christian education, in the vernacular, to make it profitable for the missionary to confine himself strictly to educational work, I should find great pleasure in again attempting what it was my hope to do when coming to Seoul."—MSS. Report, Presbyterian Board of Foreign Mission, N. Y.

186 *The Korean Repository* for September, 1897, p. 342.

187 *K. M. F.*, Vol. 12, No. 11 (November, 1916), p. 390.

taken up, in this station [Pyeng Yang] the problem was not simply one of building up one school, or a few schools, but of making broad plans for an educational system for the training of the children and youth of our church."[188] In order to achieve this end, the following procedure was adopted: "First, the starting and developing of primary parochial schools. Second, the training of present and prospective teachers, for these schools, by special normal training, held for short periods. Third, the more thorough training of picked young men in academies and ultimately in college. Fourth, the incidental preparation of text book."[189]

PRIMARY SCHOOL WORK FOR BOYS AND GIRLS

Inasmuch as it is impossible for the present investigation to go fully into the history of primay education, we shall merely mention a few outstanding features of this phase of mission work. Primary schools were graded, with a fixed course of study covering six years, In the curriculum new text books were added from time to time to meet the various needs and demands. In order to adhere to the established policy of the mission, however, all non-Christian literature was excluded and Christian teachers alone were employed. As was the case with the church work, the primary schools from the beginning were supported by Korean Christians. This policy soon became universal for all church primary schools in Korea.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

A secondary school is an almost inevitable outgrowth of a system of primary schools. Consequently, in 1900, an academy was opened at Pyeng Yang, the first of its kind in Korea.[190] In introducing secondary education, judicial atten-

188 W. M. Baird, "History of the Educational Work," *Quarto Centennial Papers* read before the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (1909), p. 64.

189 *Ibid., loc. cit.*

190 "With the exception of the school founded by Mr. Appenzeller, in Seoul, this Academy can claim to be the first institution of higher education for boys in Korea."—D. L. Soltau, "Pyeng Yang as an Educational Center," *K. M. F.*, Vol. No. 3 (March, 1925), p. 55.

tion was given to the making of the curriculum. At first a five years' course of graded study was established, but as primary schools raised their standard the curriculum of the academy was reduced to a four years' course. In order to secure the cooperation of the Korean Christians, "the local control of the school was placed in the hands of an executive committee consisting of the principal of the academy, two other missionaries and two Koreans chosen by the station. The plan contemplated the joint cooperation of missionaries and the Korean church, in the development of the school from the very first, and looked forward to the time when, like all the work, it should be turned over to the Korean church for support and control."[191]

Attention was also given to the selection of students, taking in only those who were expected to complete the course, who had qualified by passing an examination, and who were recommended by the missionaries and Korean leaders of their churches. The growth of the school can be shown by the increase of students from thirteen in 1898, to a hundred and two, in 1905.[192] In 1902, a new school building, with seven large rooms, was erected with the gift from Mr. W. L. Swallen, and an appropriation from the Mission Board.[193] In regard to the curriculum of the school, it was reported in 1901 :

"The curriculum presupposed considerable knowledge of the Chinese characters, so as to enable the pupils to begin the use of all available text-books in that language. It contemplates the study of the whole Bible, and special histories of the Nineteenth Century. In mathematics, it contemplates arithmetic, algebra, and geometry. In science, it covers the elements of physiology and hygiene, botany, zoology, physics, astronomy and chemistry, geography, physical geography, Korean grammar, map-drawing, free-hand drawing, composition and calisthenics."[194]

In order to give opportunity to worthy but poor students, an industrial department was added. In regard to the genesis of this department, Dr. Baird wrote :

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191 A. J. Brown, *Report of a Visitation of the Korea Mission*, p. 21.
192 N. P. Report for 1905, p. 259.
193 *Ibid.* for 1902, p. 97.
194 W. M. Baird, "History of the Educational Work," *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 68.

"In 1898, a gift of $50.00 was received from a fellow missionary for the help of worthy pupils. This was used in the purchase of a field, and proved to be the beginning of the self-help department, which has since proved such an important adjunct to our work."[195]

The kind of work provided for the self-help students was varied, as Dr. Baird himself says :

"The work done in this department, in the earlier years, consisted of printing, work done in the school fields, making straw ropes and shoes, working in gardens and on the roads, janitor work, secretarial work for the missionaries, map-drawing, book-binding, hat-making, the making of musical, botanical and astronomical charts, teaching in primary schools, night schools and in the school for the blind."[196]

The students worked half of each day and received a small wage, sufficient to cover their board. A printing press was installed in 1900, but the work was crude, for there was no practical printer in charge. In 1906, Mr. Samuel Davis, of Rock Island, Illinois, donated the sum of five thousand dollars to establish the Anna Davis Memorial Shops, which now form an integral part of the school.[197]

The general program of the school which we have described is what is called the Park College plan.[198] Much originality was shown in devising it, but as early as 1900 it was reported that "Mr. Baird's aim or ideal is an institution founded on similar principles to those of Park College, in Missouri."[199] Nothing could be more appropriate for the school than the addition to the faculty of Mr. George S. McCune and Mrs. Helen McAfee McCune, the son-in-law and daughter of the founder of Park College, and themselves graduates of that institution. In 1905, they came to join the educational work of the Northern Presbyterian Mission. Both Mr. and Mrs. McCune had had experience in educational work in America and were sent out especially for school work. During their short stay of four years at Pyeng Yang,

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195 W. M. Baird, *op. cit.* p. 73.
196 W. M. Baird, "History of the Educational Work," *op. cit.*, p. 74. Cf. N. P. Report for 1906, p. 259.
197 *Ibid., loc. cit.*
198 A. J. Brown, *Report of a Visitation of the Korea Mission* (1901), p. 20.
199 N. P. Report for 1900, p. 172, and for 1902, p. 187.

they not only acquired the language but Mr. McCune assisted Dr. Baird, superintended the city schools and unified and reorganized them on a smooth working basis. In 1909, they were removed to Syen Chyun, to take charge of the Mission Academy there.[200]

The Methodist Mission had no secondary school at Pyeng Yang. The growing demand for higher education among the Methodist constituency, however, was manifested in the frequest petitions to the Mission for the opening of a school for industrial and higher education.[201] In the meantime, there was a growing sentiment among the missionaries for union in educational work. The demand for, and wisdom of, such an undertaking was voiced as follows : "With the view to the highest economy of the working force, in accomplishing more and better work, we favor the founding of one Union College in this field. During the year, the station ex-

200 George S. McCune. "Reorganization of the City Schools of Pyeng Yang," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (August, 1908), p. 220.

201 In 1903 Mr. W. A. Noble reported as follows ; "Just before leaving for the annual meeting, a petition was presented to me signed by 1,400 people, from nearly all parts of our district, begging for the establishment of a school that will teach them the industrial science of the times. They urge that the Korean shops are filled with Japanese and Chinese articles, and they themselves have become the 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.' 'Give us a chance'—they say—'to learn to spin our own cotton and silk, and weave our own goods, install our own electric machinery and run our own engines. Give us a chance to learn and we will take care of the rest." Then Mr. Noble added : "It is evident to us that industrial freedom and development is the only road to political reform in a country of such cruel despotism. It is not fair to Korea, if we have her interest at heart, to take no steps to prevent her from being exploited by the world at large, when her own people stand begging for a chance to defend her. To place such a school within the reach of our people is not only philanthropy but most decidedly Christian."—M. E. North Report for 1903, p. 265. Again, in 1905, another petition was sent asking that Mr. A. L. Becker be set apart for exclusively educational work.—Official Minutes of Korea Mission Conference for 1905, p.18, 19. Such a demand was not only the demand of the Methodist constituency in the north ; the Christian congregation at Sorai made a similar request. It was reported in 1898 as follows : "But the most remarkable incident in the history of this or any native church in Korea is their request to have a foreign missionary of their own, qualified to organize and direct their work, competent, too, to instruct them in practical farming, and supported by themselves, with such aid as might come from the farms which they might place at his disposal."—N. P. Report for 1898, p. 155. Both industrial and agricultural missions are still in demand in Korea.

pressed itself as being in favor of joint educational work, in conjunction with the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, and also with the Methodist Mission. Good hopes are entertained that wise plans for cooperation may be formed by the respective missions, by which all may unite in founding one strong educational plant which will do the work of all, with a minimum amount of labor and expense, and a maximum of efficiency."[202]

When the school opened in October, 1905, "without waiting for formal rules of cooperation, practical cooperation was undertaken by simply commencing, each....[mission] putting in what it had to give. The Presbyterian Mission had a building, a small appropriation, and a school in operation. The Methodist Mission did not, as yet, have a building or an appropriation or an organized school, but it had a missionary, Mr. Becker, a Korean pupil-tutor, and prospective pupils. The Methodists were somewhat hindered by a desire on the part of their local constituency to found a denominational school of their own, for which the Koreans proposed to furnish the money. They feared being absorbed into the Presbyterian body in case union work should be entered upon. The missionaries were able to take a broader view, and, believing that cooperation in educational work is essential to efficiency and economy of the working force, and to the establishing of schools of the grade which will be necessary to the needs here, decided to commence union work."[203] Thus the two leading missions in the North joined hands in the educational enterprise. Dr. Baird spoke of it as "one of the most notable features of that year."[204] Certainly it was a most hopeful undertaking, in view of the fact that neither of the missions was financially able to support a large educational system and that there were very few capable teachers. The diversity of the training of those in charge of the school called for union, for Dr. Becker was well trained as a mathematician and

202 N. P. Report for 1906, p. 260.
203 W. M. Baird, "Pyeng Yang Academy," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 2, No. 12, p. 221.
204 *Ibid., loc. cit.*

physicist, Dr. Baird was a careful teacher in Bible and general literary subjects, while Mrs. (Annie Adams) Baird was accomplished in natural sciences and music. These three had a large share in Christian education at Pyeng Yang.

THE UNION CHRISTIAN COLLEGE AT PYENG YANG

Secondary education alone did not meet the need of the people. Still higher education was in demand, and the increase of Academy students augured well for the foundation of a college. In 1905, there were one hundred and sixty students enrolled in the Academy, and three classes had already been graduated. Furthermore, there were three American teachers available, namely Messrs. Baird, Becker, and McCune. In 1906, upon the recommendation of the Northern Presbyterian Mission,[205] the College Department was opened, with twelve students in two classes. It was, in fact, only an "advance towards collegiate work by the addition of two years to the Academy course."[206] It also was a union enterprise. "The opening of the college was the signal for a great increase of pupils in the Academy. In addition to the old pupils, 255 new pupils were admitted that year as against a total enrollment of 160 the year before."[207]

The increase in the student body made another school building necessary. The Christians in the city of Pyeng Yang raised six thousand yen for the new Science and Industrial Building. "So earnest are they that they have gone among the non-Christian communities to raise money for the project."[208] The First Methodist Church at Wichita, Kansas, donated $2,500 for the erection of the building. The first

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205 H. H. Underwood, *Modern Education ia Korea*, p. 126.
206 Minutes and Report of Annual Meeting, Korea Mission, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. for 1905 (quoted by H. H. Underwood, *Ibid., loc. cit.*)
207 W. M. Baird, "History of the Educational Work," *Quarto-Centennial Papers* read before the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (1909), p. 70.
208 M. E. Report for 1906, p. 333.

Methodist school building was soon opened, in connection with the Union College and Academy, as Science Hall. Thus in the brief period of ten years an entire school system from primary to college grade was inaugurated in the North.

One of the many reasons that make the study of modern missions interesting is the many-sided work and far-reaching results of missions. All persons suffering from deformities claim our sympathy, but the blind in Korea deserve a double share, not only for their physical misfortune, but also because they are often forced to become sorcerers and exorcists. In order to make "the blind girls of Korea happy, useful members of the Christian home circle," Mrs. Rosetta S. Hall, M. D., initiated education for them.[209] When Mrs. Hall was a girl she had learned, as an amusement, the use of the "New York point" system of raised letters. When she came to Korea as a missionary, she found that her casually acquired knowledge was most useful. As early as the spring of 1894 she began to give instruction to the blind daughter of a Christian. When her husband died, in 1894, she returned to America. During her stay in the United States, she visited the Institution for the Blind in New York and relearned the "Point" system. Upon her return to Korea in 1897, she adapted this to the Korean alphabet and syllabary, preparing part of a primer and the Ten Commandments, and taught the girl whom she had begun to instruct in 1894. The work thus commenced so attracted the attention of the people that by 1906 there were seven students. With money given her by friends in America, Mrs. Hall maintained a class-room in connection with her dispensary, where these girls were taught. They were not only given regular day school education, but also lessons in the practical arts.[210]

In surveying the educational work of Protestant Missions, we have confined ourselves to those schools which were directly controlled and either entirely or partly supported by

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209 *Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 2, No. 9 (July, 1906), pp. 175, 176.

210 Mrs. Rosetta Hall, "The Clocke Class for Blind Girls," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 2, No. 9 (July, 1906), pp. 174, 175; "Education for the Blind," *Ibid.* for May, 1908, Vol. 4, No. 5, pp. 78-80.

Mission agencies. As the work developed, the missionaries directed their attention to higher schools, while the primary institutions were left in the hands of the Korean Church. Numerous schools sprang up during the period throughout the country, especially in the North. An adequate study of primary education under Christian influences belongs to the history of education in Korea rather than to the history of missions. In order to show the nature of these schools, however, we shall single out a few characteristics of their management and control.

The Northern Presbyterian Mission, at its annual meeting in 1897, adopted the following resolution, which was the educational policy of the Mission in country schools:

"Resolved: That in places where there is a sufficient Christian constituency, primary schools should be organized and supported by the native church, and should be under the supervision of the missionary in charge of the district. That in exceptional cases, assistance may be given by the mission, but not to exceed more than one-half the expenses of the school."

and added, "primary schools carried on at the expense of the Mission, for evadgelistic purposes, in districts where there is not yet a sufficiently strong Christian constituency, may be organized, but only after direct Mission permission, or in the interim between Mission meeting, by sanction of the Educational Committee."[211]

Thus the missionary had nominal charge over the primary schools in his district, but in all the practical affairs of administration the Korean Christians were responsible. These schools, as a rule, were attached to the local church. When there was no separate school building, a part of the church was used. As to the organization of a local primary school, it was very simple. There was an educational committee of the church who controlled the finances of the school. The students were required to pay a certain amount of tuition, which, in general, covered the salary of the teacher or teachers. So long as there were no outside complications,

211 Report of the Chairman of the Committee, Graham Lee, to the Annual Meeting, 1897, MSS. Report Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, New York.

the school was perfectly independent in administration and support. However, primary schools opened by missionaries in cities for evangelistic purposes and in districts where there was not yet a sufficiently strong Christian constituency, were supported out of Mission fund. Such schools were under the direct control of the Missionary in charge.

The schools under individual missionaries were, through him, under the general supervision of the Educational Committee of the Mission. "This committee.... acts as an advisory board to those responsible for the educational institutions of the Mission, consults with all members having supervision of schools or normal classes, concerning their work, accomplished and contemplated, and makes recommendations on the educational work of the whole field."[212] This committee also had the power to prescribe the courses and the textbooks used. Through this latter function of the committee, primary schools were almost all standardized and the entire educational system was graded from the primary to the academy and the college course. In later years the Educational committee of the Mission united in an educational association which virtually had the entire control of Christian education in the country.[213] After the Japanese Protectorate was established over Korea, these Christian schools were required to register with the government. In all dealings with the government, on matters concerning school registration, curriculum, and religious instruction, the Educational Associations represented the Christian educational work in Korea as a whole.

Missionaries were very careful in choosing teachers for the primary schools. Only Christian teachers were employed.[214] They were not trained according to the modern

212 *Rules and By-Laws of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.*, Sec. 15.

213 For the evolution of the organization, see "Educational Association Notes," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (March, 1911); Dr. Marquis, "Christian Education in Korea"; H. G. Underwood, "A Significant Meeting," *K. M. F.* for May, 1911, pp. 133-136; and "Proposed Constitution for Educational Federation," Ibid, for June, 1911, pp. 168-170.

214 A. J. Brown, *A Report of a Visitation of the Korea Mission* (1901), p. 22.

educational system, though most of them were men of excellent classical attainments. Upon their conversion to the Christian religion, their educational background enabled them to acquire principles more rapidly than others and they naturally became leaders in the churches and the teachers of the schools. In order to increase the efficiency of the available rural school teachers, normal classes were held in almost every mission center, especially in the North and in the central part of the country. At the beginning, these classes met at week-ends and vacation seasons. Later they developed into a regular normal school system in the form of summer school work.

Rural schools sprung up more rapidly after 1905, when the Japanese protectorate over Korea was proclaimed. In 1906, Rev. Elmer M. Cable reported the situation as follows:

"The passing away of Korea's independence has served somewhat to stimulate the Koreans along the line of education. The past year has witnessed more stir and agitation for an intellectual advancement than has probably ever before been known in the Land of Morning Calm. I have been besieged all the year, with boys, young men and old men, in regard to schools. From all sides comes the cry for schools, teachers and Western learning. I have never before felt so keenly the tardiness with which we have been developing educational resources and facilities as at the present time. We have now a large and rapidly growing Christian constituency, and when we stop to consider the facilities with which we have to care for and educate the same, we find ourselves almost hopelessly at fault."[215]

If the missionaries did not give the proper attention in meeting the educational need, the Koreans did it themselves. Here is a conspicuous example of the work of Mr. Yi Dong Whei. There were many Korean leaders who established schools during the period, but Mr. Yi's case is extraordinary. He was an old soldier who had held military office under the Korean government. When the protectorate was proclaimed, he was a prefect of Kangwha Island. He threw away his official portfolio and soon became a Christian, and still later an evangelist.[216] After his conversion, he gave his time to

215 M. E. North Report for 1906, p. 328.

216 When the Korean Provisional Government was set up, in Shanghai, in 1919, Mr. Yi held the Premiership and now is in exile in Russia.

the establisment of schools for the younger generation. With regard to his work we have the fellowing report:

"On Kangwha, the school established by Yi Dong Whei is doing excellent work. It does one good to visit it. It has a crops of ten instructors, with several courses, in English, Chinese, Korean and Japanese. Part of the instructors have studied abroad, and are very capable teachers. The school, with its feeders, has 210 boys. The physical training of the boys is being carefully looked after. I am glad to see the interest the Koreans are taking in physical training. It bespeaks stronger minds and bodies and a more aggressive people. It is the object of Mr. Yi to make the school the central high school for all Kangwha. He has already established three feeders for the school in the country, and is soon to start several more. He has a very commendable scheme of education, and all is carried on without any expense to the church. In the last Quarterly Conference he arose, and, with tears trickling down his face, pleaded for the parents to take more interest in the education of their children, as that was the only hope left for Korea. He announced before the Conference that the Christians all over the Island could send their boys, and rice to feed them—he would furnish them their room and instruction free."[217]

We have quoted the report of the educational work of Mr. Yi Dong Whei in order to show the new educational problem that the missionaries in Korea had to face. What were some of the motives back of the educational work undertaken by the group of men represented by Mr. Yi? The answer is not far to seek. A missionary reported:

"Some of the schools have made remarkable progress in drilling and calisthenics, the school from Kangsyu taking first prize at the field-day given by the governor, at Pyeng Yang, in April. These boys made quite an impression, in their neat uniforms, with a cross on each shoulder, and Bible and hymn-book over the back like a knapsack."[218]

Again, in order to show the nature of the field-day exercises, we refer to the report of Rev. C. S. Deming on the subject:

"Boys were assembled and put through their drill, which was done with such accuracy and unison of motion as scarcely to be excelled by any body of soldiers. Following this, the boys were arranged in three companies, one occupying the fort and the other two making up the attacking force. They were supplied with fire crackers and red and

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217 E. M. Cable, "The Longing for Education," *K. M. F.*, Vol. II, No. 8 (June, 1906), p. 145.
218 M. E. North Report for 1907, p. 417.

white balls. Some time was spent in maneuvers about the fort, showing advance, retreat, sally, battle, and work of Red Cross corps, the whole ending in the capture and burning of the fort."[219]

Who taught the boys? When Japan established the protectorate, the Korean army was disbanded. These former soldiers went back to the country and became drill-masters of the school boys. It was therefore said at that time that although the Japanese had disbanded the Korean army to annihilate the military power of the nation, they had, on the contrary, increased it through the dispersion of the old army among private schools. The writer vividly recalls these drills and the field meets in which he participated. What a company of little soldiers we were!

Obviously the problems with which missionaries were confronted were both educational and political. The rural schools were nominally under the control of the missionaries, but the selection of teachers, general administration and support, were in the hands of the Koreans. Should the missionary tell the local school authorities to abolish the demonstrations and military preparations of the students? If so, they would not have appeared before the eyes of Korean Christians as their friends in the national struggle. If they took a non-interference policy, the Japanese government would look upon the missionaries as partisans of the Koreans. The Mission schools which were under the direct control of the Missions did not give as much attention to military drill as did the others, and on that account their students were accused of being unpatriotic. As far as the rural schools were concerned, the missionaries took a *laissez faire* policy, but in the schools over which they had control they adhered to to a strict policy. Dr. William M. Baird, the principal of the Pyeng Yang Academy and president of the Union Christian College at Pyeng Yang, reported:

"The school shared with all Korea the storm of intense excitement incident to the publication of the fact that the nation was to become a dependency of Japan. Feelings of shame, resentment and hate found expression in the determination to do something heroic in the hour of

219 C. S. Deming. "A Field Meet at Chemulpo," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 2, No. 7 (May, 1906), pp. 125, 126.

their country's need. For a time, studies were greatly neglected. Many pupils left school and returned home. Twelve others went down to Seoul, against advice and without permission, to join in the demonstrations which were expected to take place there. These twelve pupils were suspended."[220]

MEDICAL WORK

During the period covered by this chapter, medical work began to find a new place. It had often been declared that the existence of a medical mission was justified only so long as it opened the way for the direct preaching of religion. In the foregoing chapters, we have shown that medical work did open the way for clerical missionaries, but as the new faith gained a foothold, medicine became a direct means of evangelism, for hospitals maintained evangelists and held services and carried on daily preaching. Now we have come to the time when medical work was not required for these purposes. The evangelists now did not need the help of physicians to secure an audience. In 1903 a missionary declared: "There may yet come to Korea a time when it will be necessary to break down prejudice by means of schools and hospitals, but that time is not yet."[221] Another missionary said: "I came to Korea to use my medical skill as a key to unlock the door for the Gospel, but I soon found that I was fumbling at the lock of a door which was already wide open, so I left the medical work and became an evangelist."[222] Partly for this reason and partly for want of funds and physicians, the General Hospital of the Northern Methodist Mission at Seoul closed its doors.[223]

On the other hand, there were missionaries who believed in the legitimate, even paramount, place of the medical mission in Korea. They claimed that hospitals were a distinct aid to evangelistic work, and, furthermore, that there were no trained Korean physicians who could meet the

220 "Pyeng Yang Academy," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 2, No. 12 (October, 1906), p. 221.
221 M. E. South Report for 1903, p. 44.
222 A. J. Brown, *Report of a Visitation of the Korea Mission* (1908). p. 23.
223 Official Minutes Korea Mission Conference for 1900, pp. 31, 32.

needs of the sick. In 1901, Dr. J. Hunter Wells said: "Some one has said that philanthropic work (Medical) should be limited by the possibility of its evangelistic utilization and influence. This is not in accord with the spirit of the aid given to the man who had fallen among thieves."[224] These groups believed that in the midst of the growing churches "modern hospitals, well equipped, are a natural development of missionary work" and that "it is the natural hope, too, and the expectation of medical workers that their work may be extended and perpetuated by the uprising of a generation of young native physicians, trained in these hospitals."[225] The last course was a departure in the medical work in Korea.

The extent of the medical work of the period was as wide as the peninsula. In 1902, the Northern Methodist Mission declared that "it is a settled policy in mission work in Korea, that no new station should be opened in the interior without a doctor on its staff."[226] Such was not only the policy of the Methodists, but was the principle of all the missions. When a mission station was opened by the Presbyterian Mission at Syen Chyun in 1901, Dr. Alfred M. Sharrocks was sent.[227] In 1906 there was erected a dispensary and hospital, and a very efficient group of Korean assistants was trained.

When Wonsan was occupied by the pioneer Canadian missionaries, Dr. Robert Grierson was leader of the group. When Dr. Grierson arrived at Wonsan in 1900, he opened medical practice in his home. However, he undertook only such cases as could be treated with success.[228] In the following year he was sent to open the mission's first branch station at

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224 "Results of Medical Missions in Korea," *Missionary Review of the World*, September, 1901, p. 690.

225 *Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 2, No. 7 (May, 1906), pp. 132.

226 M. E. North Report for 1002, p. 315.

227 For a biographical note of this good doctor, see "Alfred M. Sharrocks, M. D.," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (March, 1920), pp. 62, 63. Perhaps the adoption of the Korean architecture in the Korean church buildings was due to Dr. Sharrocks and Dr. Graham Lee.

228 Foreign Mission Report of the Presbyterian Church in Canada for 1900, p. 117.

Song Chin, where he soon established a hospital. Later Miss Kate McMillian, M. D., joined the mission. Dr. McGill and Dr. Hardie, of the two Methodist missions, also had work at Wonsan, but the former left the port and the latter was released from medical work and put in his time in evangelistic labors.

Pyeng Yang was an important medical center. Dr. E. D. Follwell had charge of the Hall Memorial Hospital, and Dr. Hall of the Women's Dispensary. Dr. J. Hunter Wells of the Presbyterian Mission continued his work, and in 1905 the Caroline Ladd Memorial Hospital was completed.[229] These three hospitals coöperated in the training of medical assistants.[230] Coming southward, there was opened a new station at Chairyung in 1906. Dr. H. C. Whiting was sent to open the work there. In commenting on his pioneer endeavors, it was reported: "In Chai Ryung nothing of a human agency has done more to make the way smooth and open the hearts of the people to the loving influence of the Gospel, than the medical work of Dr. Whiting."[231]

Coming still further southward, we have the Southern Methodist Mission center at Songdo. Dr. F. C. Reid, the founder of the mission, desired to make "evangelistic work, rather than ministerial work, the leading feature of the mission.[232] Consequently, medical work was not undertaken until 1903, when Drs. J. B. Ross and D. E Sawdon came to Korea. Dr. Ross soon opened medical work in Songdo, but the latter returned to America, on account of ill-health, after a brief stay.

At Seoul an important change took place in the medical situation. As has already been noted, the Methodist General Hospital was closed, but the Women's Hospital at Chung Dong, under Dr. Mary M. Cutler, and the East Gate Dispensary, under Dr. Emma Ernsberger, were carried on. The medical work of the Anglican Mission at Seoul, which was

229 M. E. South Report for 1906, p. 261.
230 *Ibid.*
231 *Ibid.*
232 N. P. Report for 1896, p. 28.

conducted by Dr. Baldock, at the Hospital of St. Matthew, for men, and by Dr. Katherine Allen, at St. Peter's Hospital, for women, was closed in 1904.[233]

The most important medical development in Seoul was the establishment of the Severance Hospital. In the previous chapter we pointed out that the former government hospital, under the medical superintendency of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, became entirely a missionary institution. Dr. O. R. Avison, the physician in charge, went to America on furlough in 1899-1900. When he returned to Korea, in the fall of 1900, he brought with him a munificent gift of ten thousand dollars from Mr. Louis H. Severance, of Cleveland, Ohio.[234] The erection of the hospital was a little delayed, on account of difficulty in securing suitable property,[235] but with the further generous donation of five thousand dollars from Mr. Severance a hospital compound was purchased outside the South Gate, where the institution stands today.[236] A commodious new structure, with modern equipment, was opened for service in September, 1904. The opening of the Severance Hospital in Seoul was not only a new departure in medical missions in Korea, but also in the development of the medical profession, for it unified all the poorly equipped small hospitals and dispensaries in the city and trained young Korean Christian doctors. The opening of the large hospital also marked the beginning of an emphasis on institutional work as well as on rural itinerancy.

The story of the medical mission in Korea would not be complete without grateful mention of the many-sided work of Dr. O. R. Avison, M. D., LL. D. Previous to his coming to Korea as a medical missionary (in 1893) he served as a professor at the Medical School of Toronto University. Upon his

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233 *The English Church Mission in Korea: Its Faith and Practice.* pp. 72.

234 For the most intensely interesting story of securing the fund, see "Instances of Answered Prayers," O. R. Avison, *K. M. F.*, Vol. 16 No. 2 February, 1920, pp. 29-32. For plan and description, see O. R. Avison, "The Severance Hospital," *Korea Review*, 1904, pp. 486-493.

235 N. P. Report for 1902, pp. 189, 327.

236 *Ibid.*, for 1902, p. 198.

coming to Seoul he took charge of the government hospital, and also served as physician to the king until the latter was placed under the custody of the Japanese. During the exciting days following the assassination of the queen, in the winter of 1895, he, with his colleagues, rescued the king from the hands of traitors. For this and other services, he was decorated by the king. Dr. Avison not only reorganized the government hospital but at last made it a missionary institution. He is the founder of the Severance Hospital and of the Severance Union Medical College, and one of the founders and President of Chosen Christian College. "During these thirty years they [Dr. and Mrs. Avison] healed the sick, taught others to heal, gave education to those who sought knowledge, and pointed the way to those in the dark to the Light."[237]

Medical work, however, was not altogether concentrated in the capital. Turning to the southeast, we find that the Southern Presbyterian Mission started medical work in Kunsan where Dr. T. H. Daniels worked, at Chunju Dr. Mattie Ingold, at Kwangju Dr. Nolan, and Dr. W. H. Forsythe at Kunsan and Mokpo. Perhaps no one better exemplified the life of the Good Samaritan than did Dr. Forsythe. He himself was once fallen upon by thieves and robbers.[238] However, the medical work here was in its initial stages. So was the work in the southeast, at Taiku and Chinju. The Northern Presbyterian Mission opened the station at Taiku in 1897, and dispatched Dr. Woodbridge O. Johnson as the medical member of the staff. At Fusan the same mission had a small but well equipped plant, the Junkin Memorial Hospital, given by the Presbyterian Church at Montclair, New Jersey, in memory of its pastor. In 1904, it rightly claimed to be "the first modern hospital" in Korea.[239] Besides this hospital, the dispensary was also continued. The work was under the charge of Dr. Charles H. Irvin. The Australian Mission sent as their first

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237 Hugh H. Cynn, "Dr. and Mrs. O. R. Avison—An Apprecation," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 19, No. 8 (August, 1923), p. 157.
238 *The Korea Review*, 1905, p. 106.
239 N. P. Report for 1906, pp. 253, 254,

medical missionary Dr. Hugh Currell, who arrived in the country in 1902. In 1904, he opened medical work at Chinju and founded the Paton Memorial Hospital.[240]

Missionary medical education of the period was threefold: the preparation of medical text books, the training of physicians, and the training of nurses. In 1904 Dr. Avison wrote: "Keeping in mind the fact that all forms of mission work must be only temporary, and looking forward to the time when even hospital work must be done by native physicians, a strong effort has been made to give systematic medical instruction to a small number of young men, and this effort has meant special language study on the part of the doctor, and much time spent in the preparation of text-books."[241] The producing of medical books involved the formulation of a medical vocabulary and the introduction of new scientfic terms. The first work done by Dr. Avison was the translation of Gray's *Anatomy*. When this was practically finished, Dr. Avison returned to America on furlough. Upon his return, he found that the manuscript had been destroyed by fire. Undiscouraged, he started afresh upon his task.[242] Other treatises, on physiology, chemistry, materia medica, bacteriology, and hygiene, soon followed.[243] These works were printed by mimeograph and distributed to the other stations for use in training Korean assistants. Drs. Wells and Sharrocks also had a share in preparing medical treatises.

The beginnings of the medical college were to be found in the training of hospital assistants and drug clerks. It had been the custom of missionary physicians to give practical lessons to intelligent young men, with certificates of proficiency. In order to limit the premature "doctors" the Presbyterian Mission in 1903 adopted the following resolution:

"Recommend the formation of all practicing male physicians of the

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240 Annual Report of Presbyterian Missionary Union for 1902, pp. 2-8; *Ibid* for 1905, pp. 11, 12.

241 "The Severance Hospital," *The Korea Review*, November, 1904, p. 490.

242 N. P. Report for 1903, p. 213.

243 *Korea Review*, February, 1906, p. 65.

mission into a board to control the issue of certificates of proficiency to students, to draw up regulations, prescribe a course of study, conduct examinations, and certify to the attainments of student assistants."[244]

A ruling was also made at that time to limit the number of assistants to six.[245] In 1905, the Medical Committee of the Northern Presbyterian Mission reported as follows:

"Section 8: That in accord with the instruction of the Mission, two years ago, Dr. Avison has prepared curricula for a seven-year course in medicine and three years in pharmacy. Recommend that copies be placed in the hands of each doctor in the mission, with a view to acting on them next year.

"Section 9: Recommend that the request of the doctors in charge of Severance Hospital to make use of and teach a class of twelve student assistants be approved."[246]

This was the genesis of the present Severance Union Medical College. The teaching force consisted of Dr. Avison and his associate, Dr. Jesse W. Hirst, who was sent by Mr. Severance, to Korea where he arrived in 1904. There was, however, no school building. Thus in 1905 the far-seeing president wrote:

"One of the greatest needs of Korea is a medical school where students can be given both theoretical instruction and practical training. ....So it is proposed to extend the present training of a few students and provide further facilities for a thorough course in medicine and surgery."[247]

Perhaps one of the greatest revolutionary steps that the medical mission undertook was training Korean women for medical service. The honor of introducting this innovation belongs to Mrs. Rosetta S. Hall, M. D., who sent her interpreter, Mrs. Esther Kim Pak, to America for medical education.[248] After graduating from Johns Hopkins, Dr. Pak returned to Korea and served faithfully until her death, in 1911. Another step was the training of young women as nurses. There is no clear data to show who began this work,

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244 Minutes of Annual Meeting, Korea Mission, Presbyterian Church, North 1903. Quoted by H. H. Underwood, *Modern Education in Korea*, p. 120.

245 N. P. Report for 1906, ppr 261-271.

246 Minutes of Annual Meeting, Korea Mission, Presbyterian Church, 1905. Quoted by H. H. Underwood, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

247 "The Severance Hospital," *The Korea Review* for February, 1906, pp. 66, 67.

248 R. S. Hall, "The Life of Dr. W. J. Hall," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 77, No. (May, 1911), pp. 139, 140.

but it seems that the ladies of the Women's Foreign Mission Society of the Methodist Church were engaged in it as early as 1903.[249] In 1906, Miss M. J. Edmunds reported: "When the Training School was organized, some of the former hospital helpers were candidates for entrance."[250] Two scholars were reported to be under training. It seems that in that same year Miss E. L. Shields began a similar work in connection with the Severance Hospital.[251] "A definite course of study and training is being laid out for them [Korean nurses] and the experience of the physicians leads them to believe that Korean women are capable of becoming very excellent nurses."[252] Difficulties were numerous, for the strict seclusion of women, the custom of early marriage, the new mode of housekeeping in modern hospitals, and the disdain in which the profession was held by the Koreans, all militated against the entrance of women into it.

The Severance Hospital was the first and the finest modern hospital in the entire country. The favorable impression made by it on the Koreans was an asset to mission work. It was, however, not without its problems. So thoroughly modern an institution might not attract the poor who were in need of its care but who believed they could not afford the expense of its ministrations. Another problem was that of institutionalism. There was no church and no school building erected on such a scale. "Some missionaries forcefully argued that no institution should be allowed to stand before the people as an exponent of Christianity but Christianity itself; that the development of buildings should succeed, not precede the establishment of the Church; that large institutions, instead of being a help to the evangelization of a county are really an obstacle, in that they absorb the money, energy and interest, not only of the home church and the mission

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249 Official Minutes of Korea Mission Conference for 1903, p. 22. Miss Margaret J. Edmunds is listed as "Superintendent of Nurses' Training School."
250 *Korea Mission Field* for June, 1906, Vol. 2, No. 8, p. 154.
251 M. J. Edmunds, *Training Native Nurses.*
251 N. P. Report for 1906, p. 245; Underwood, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
252 "Severance Hospital," *Korea Review* for February, 1906, p. 63.

force, but of the Korean church; and also in that they make Christianity appear rather as a philanthropic agency than as a Church of God for the salvation of men."[253] Closely connected with these problems was the question of the proportion of any particular branch of mission work to the rest of the work, in order to avoid the impression that any one branch was worthy of more expenditure and effort than the others. The question of maintenance was still another problem.[254] In spite of all these problems, the Severance Hospital and Medical College have justified their existence.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

When the missionaries had finished their pioneering work, gathered converts in churches, and taught the young in schools, there was left a large group of young men who were a little too old to enter school with the boys and too sophisticated to be induced to come to church. "The young Korean is socially inclined, but has nowhere to go for amusement or social intercourse that does not do him more harm than good. Home means little or nothing to him socially, and he either has to spend his time loafing in his friends' reception rooms or on the street or in positively vicious resorts. There are no parks, nor reading-rooms nor adequate libraries, nor recreation grounds, nor games of physical skill to attract them."[255]

These young men were alert and capable of making a new Korea. but they needed an opportunity and incentive to climb out of their old ruts. The missionaries naturally turned to the Young Men's Christian Association and requested the International Committee to appoint a secretary to inaugurate work in Korea. In response to this request, the Committee dispatched Mr. Philip L. Gillett, a Yale graduate. Soon after his arrival, with the aid of Mr. Fletcher S. Brockman, the General Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. for China, Korea and

253 A. J. Brown, *Report of a Visitation of the Korea Mission* (1901).
254 *Korea Review*, 1906, pp. 65, 66.
255 *Ibid.*, April, 1903, p. 163.

Hongkong, on March 18th, 1903, he called together a group of influential men—the Hon. H. N. Allen, J. McLeavy Brown, LL. D., of the Imperial Customs, the Rev. A. B. Turner, Rev. J. S. Gale, G. H. Jones, and others—to present to them the plans of the organization and to solicit their support.[256] A fund had to be raised in Korea in order to hold a conditional gift from American friends for the erection of a central building.[257] On October 28, 1903, the Association was formally organized, a constitution was adopted, and H. B. Hulbert was elected chairman and P. L. Gillett secretary. The charter members of the Association numbered twenty-eight, with nine associate members, divided into five nationalities—American, English, Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans.[258] In the fall of 1904, temporary quarters were secured in the city of Seoul, on the site where the present central building now stands. From the beginning, gymnasium classes drew a large number of young Koreans, and lectures and Bible classes exerted marked influence. In the meantime, the program of the Association interested government officials, who liberally opened their purses for the support of the work.[259] The new building was erected in 1908.

LITERARY WORK

The literary work of the missionaries of the period may be divided into four classes : the producing of text-books and Christian journals, literature on missions, Bible-study courses, and Bible translation. The writing of text-books claimed a large share of the time of the busy missionaries. Mr. J. S. Gale produced a series of Chinese readers ;[260] Dr. and Mrs. Baird, texts in botany, physics, and physical geography ;[261] E. H. Miller, texts in arithmetic ;[262] Noble, a text on psycholo-

256 *Korea Review Supplement* for March, 1903, p. 2.
257 *Ibid.*, for April, 1903, p. 167. The amount was $ 6,000.
258 *The Korea Review* for October, 1903, pp. 461, 462.
259 *Ibid.*, for March, 1905, p. 111.
260 N. P. Report for 1903, p. 213 ; M. E. North Report for 1902, p. 313.
261 *N. P.* for 1904, pp. 212, 213.
262 *Ibid.*, for 1906, p. 295.

gy; and Bunker and Hulbert the "Pai Chai Educational Series."[263] In the field of Christian journalism, Dr. Underwood and Dr. C.C. Vinton continued the publication of the *Christian News*.[264] We must remark that the success of this paper was due partly to the fact that the Korean government ordered 467 copies of the paper, one to be sent to each of the 367 magistrates, and ten copies to each of the ten departments of the government.[265] The reason for this official patronage was probably not so much a liberal attitude toward the Christian religion as the desire to be enlightened on Western civilization.

As we have already seen in the preceding chapter, the Methodist Mission published the *Christian Advocate* under the editorship of Mr. H. G. Appenzeller. This periodical continued until 1901.[266] Dr. G. H. Jones, with a view of introducing elementary theology to the Christian reading public, issued the *Theological Review*, or the "Sin Hak Wolpo."[267] The Southern Methodist Mission soon joined in the enterprise, but in 1904 the monthly was discontinued on the ground that its publication was not frequent enough, that the space was limited, and that a variety of reading matter could not adequately be presented.[268] In place of the monthly, it was decided to reissue the *Christian Advocate* fortnightly, and J. R. Moose and Wilbur Swearer were appointed editors.[269] In the following year, the two existing papers, the *Christian News* of the Presbyterians and the *Christian Advocate* of the Methodists, were amalgamated, to form the *Christian News*.[270] In order to meet the need for Sunday school lesson comments, a uniform system of lessons was also printed in the paper.[271] The *News* was a weekly, under the editorship of the two editors of the former papers.

263 M. E. North Report for 1902, p. 324.
264 *The Korean Repository* for October, 1898, pp. 371, 372.
265 N. P. Report for 1898, p. 161.
266 Official Minutes of the Annual Meeting for 1901, p. 24.
267 *Ibid.*, p. 63. The first issue was printed in December, 1900.
268 Official Minutes Korea Mission Conference, M. E. Church, for 1905, pp. 82, 83.
269 *Ibid.*
270 *Ibid.*, for 1906, p. 72.
271 *Ibid.*

During these years of missionary expansion, there existed no journal in English exclusively devoted to Christian progress in Korea. There was the *Korean Repository*, but it was chiefly concerned with the results of scholarly studies of the people and the country. It also had the disadvantage of being a denominational project. It was started by the Methodist missionaries and maintained by them, so that it did not receive the support of certain others of the missionaries. For example, Dr. Underwood made no contribution to its pages, with one single exception, and that was the printing of his personal report of his work to his mission in 1898.[272] In 1899 the *Repository* was suspended.

The *Korea Review* was published from 1901 to 1906 inclusive, with Professor Homer B. Hulbert as editor; yet since it was both a private enterprise and a journal of current events and matters of general interest, the missionaries felt that the time had come to issue a periodical exclusively devoted to their work. In 1901, Dr. C.C. Vinton, of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, started the *Korea Field* and published it at irregular intervals.[273] In the meantime, Dr. G. H. Jones began the *Korea Methodist.* In 1905, these two papers were united,[274] forming the *Korea Mission Field*, a monthly, and that periodical is now the organ of the Federal Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea.

Literature on Bible study and Christian nurture was extensive. There were commentaries,[275] catechisms,[276] and books on personal work.[277] The extent of the dissemination of Christian literature is shown by the fact that in 1898 the Northern Presbyterian Mission alone reported twenty book rooms in the field,[278] and that the Northern Methodist Book Store in Seoul, from May, 1899, to April, 1900, sold 3,024

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272 The *Korean Repository* for October, 1898, pp. 371-376.
273 *Korea Review* for November, 1901, p. 511; N. P. Report for 1903, p. 213.
274 Editorial, *K. M. F.*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (January, 1907), p. 9.
275 N. P. Report for 1903, p. 213.
276 *The Gospel in All Lands* for March, 1901, p. 246.
277 N. P. Report for 1906, p. 245.
278 *Korean Repository* for November, 1898, p. 416.

volumes, with receipts of $ 498.07.[279] A contemporary writer declared "Christian influence controls the literature of Korea."[280] In other words, popular literature in Korea at that time was Christian literature.

The Tri-lingual Press, the only mission press in Korea, was a great success. Its success, however, was an embarrassment, as its facilities could not keep pace with the demands. It seems to have had the monopoly of the printing business in the capital. It printed the New Testament, other Christian literature, and a secular English weekly paper, the *Independent*.[281] In 1900, it was reported that the press issued 11,000,000 pages between May, 1899 and May 1, 1900. In 1900, "in view of the fact of the great increase in investment and broader outlook for the Press"[282] the name of the Press was changed to Korea Methodist Publishing House.[283] The increase in output meant a need for a corresponding increase of equipment. In order to meet the emergency, money was borrowed from the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.[284] In the following year, "the galling obligation"[285] was wiped out, and a net gain of 1,000 yen was reinvested in the work.[286] New equipment was added[287] and a foremen employed.[288] By 1904, it was "an entirely self-supporting establishment."[289] The increase in output made the old quarters crowded, and with the lack of modern facilities and skilled printers a high class of work was impossible.[290] The name of the publishing house itself was a misnomer, for it was but a printing office and bindery. In order to meet the growing demand for literature and to convert the press into an efficient publishing

279 Official Minutes Korea Mission Conference, M. E. Church, for 1900, p. 82.
280 M. E. North Report for 1902, p. 312.
281 M. E. North Report for 1898, p. 266.
282 Official Minutes, Annual Meeting Korea Mission for M. E. Church 1900, p. 20.
283 *Ibid.*
284 M. E. North Report for 1900, p. 291.
285 Official Minutes, Annual Meeting Korea Mission, M. E. Church, for 1901, p. 59.
286 *Ibid.*, p. 60.
287 *Ibid.*, p. 59; M. E. North Report for 1902, p. 325.
288 M. E. North Report for 1904, p. 303.
289 *Ibid.*, for 1904, p. 303.
290 *Ibid.*, for 1905, p. 309.

concern, a union undertaking was proposed by the Methodist Mission (1906).[291] In response to this invitation, the missions appointed representatives to investigate the matter and drew up an agreement for the Union Publishing House. The committee sent Dr C. C. Vinton to America "to secure the sanction of the different Mission Boards, secure the funds to enable the other Missions to take their shares of stock, and if possible to secure a thoroughly trained book publisher to come out as...the manager."[292] As, however, by the end of the year no definite action had been taken, we leave the further developments of this promising enterprise to a succeeding chapter.

BIBLE TRANSLATION

The year 1900 marks the completion of the translation of the New Testament into the Korean language. It will be recalled that when the Permanent Executive Bible Committee was organized, the three-stage method of translation was adopted. The first stage was the individual translator's draft, made with the aid of the Korean assistants. The second stage was the provisional version, which was a revision of the first draft, made on the basis of the written suggestions and criticisms of the other members of the Board. The third was the tentative edition, which was the Board's joint revision of the provisional version. By 1896, none of the books in the New Testament had passed the second stage except the Gospel of St. Matthew. In order to meet the urgent demand, the four Gospels and the Book of Acts were published and circulated in that year. After a trial of the three-stage method for three years, in 1897 the Board eliminated the second stage of the process and adopted the method of holding "executive sessions." These were held during the years, 1897, 1899, and 1900. By the beginning of May, 1900, an edition of 12,000 New Testaments, in large type, was issued

291 *Ibid.*, for 1906, p. 323.
292 *Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 2 No. 5 (March, 1906), pp. 41, 42.

by the Methodist Press, and a small type edition of 15,000 New Testaments and 10,000 Gospels and Acts was printed in Yokohama.[293] The occasion of the completion was fittingly celebrated in the following September, at Seoul.[294]

Upon the completion of the New Testament, the Board directed its attention to the Old Testament. It will be recalled that there had already been a few individual versions of portions of the Old Testament. The members of the Board began to work on various books, but from 1897 to 1901 no notable work was produced on account of the furloughs of the translators. In 1902, the translators continued the old method of holding occasional executive sessions. As we have already noted, Mr. Appenzeller was drowned on his way to a meeting of the Board, in 1902. Soon after his death, the Board was reorganized and a new constitution was adopted whereby all the members were placed in one locality for the exclusive work of Bible translation. The Northern Presbyterian Mission, in assigning their representatives, Drs. Gale and Underwood, stipulated that "no other work be allowed to interfere with the work of the Board."[295] The Southern Presbyterian Mission transferred Dr. Reynolds to Seoul in that year. Thus by continuous sessions, and by concentrated efforts, the speedy accomplishment of the task was made possible. Dr. Reynolds gives the following account of the work:

"From October 1902 to March 1906, these three members held 555 sessions; completed the Board's Tentative Version of the New Testament and revised the first half of the book for the 1904 edition; revised this edition, eliminating errors and still further unifying terms and renderings; secured well-nigh perfect typographic copy from the M. E. Press at Seoul, in 1905; have again, by sub-committee, run over this amended version, polishing it off a little more as copy for the M. E. Press of Tokyo; and proof-read this forthcoming 'Authorized Edition' of the New Testament through II Corinthians. Besides this laborious work on the New Testament, the Board has prepared its Tentative

293 H. G. Appenzeller, "The New Testament in Korea," *The Gospel in All Lands* for August, 1900, p. 384.
294 Annual Report of B. F. B. S. for 1901, p. 286.
295 W. D. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 178; N. P. Report for 1904, p. 203.

Version of Genesis and Psalms, and is about to enter upon a revision of Dr. Gale's draft of Proverbs and I and II Samuel."[296]

Such was the status of Bible translation at the close of the period under our review. The personnel of the Bible translators will be of interest. We again refer to Dr. Reynolds :

"Of the six members of the Board in 1896, only three remain on the Board in 1906, Messrs. Underwood, Gale and Reynolds. Mr. Trollope's 'unofficial' connection with the Board ceased in 1899. Dr. Scranton's prolonged stay in America severed his connection with the Board. After his return to the field, he was re-elected in 1905, but after one week was called away by mission duties and finding it impracticable to resume regular work, resigned form the Board....Rev. G. H. Jones, who elected to fill Mr. Appenzeller's place, in the fall of 1902, served as Secretary of the Board for six months and then returned to America. Four others, namely, Messrs. Moffett, Hardie, Noble, and Grierson, have been elected, at various times, but declined to give up their work and move to Seoul."[297]

BIBLE SOCIETIES

The publication and circulation of the Bible were still carried on by the three Bible Societies. One of the most notable events during the period in the work of those societies was the publication of the New Testament in the Korean language. In 1900, another important step was taken in the apppointment of a Joint-Agent who was to represent all three Bible societies in Korea.[298] In the meantime, in 1902, the Bible Committee was reorganized by adopting a new constitution. Dr. Reynolds explains the nature of the reorganization as follows :

"This new constitution practically establishes a cooperative partnership between the various Missions and the three Bible Societies. The Missions furnish men for the Bible Committee, Board of Translators, native assistants and colporteurs, and an ever increasing Christian constituency to buy Bibles. The Bible Societies furnish an Agent, who acts also as Secretary and Treasurer of the Bible Committee ; a Bible House, the salary of one translator and of a native assistant for each

296 *Ibid.*, p. 178.
297 W. D. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 180 ; N. P. Report for 1604.
298 B. F. B. S. Report for 1903, p. 282.

translator, defray expenses and supply funds for the publication and distribution of the Scriptures. The Agent has the right to veto any proposed action of the Committee, and a majority of the Committee has the same power over the actions of the Agent; in both cases pending reference to the three Societies for final decision. 'The members of the Board of Translators are ex-officio advisory members of the Bible Committee' and are expected to attend all meetings. They enjoy the privileges of the floor but have no vote."[299]

Mr. Alexander Kenmure acted as the Joint-Agent of the Bible societies until 1904, when Mr. Hugh Miller, who had been a sub-agent under Mr. Kenmure, became the agent at Seoul.[300]

As to the circulation, the Bible societies maintained colporteurs and Bible women, either under the direct supervision of the agent or under missionaries, In 1903, the Agent reported sixty-three colporteurs and nineteen Bible women who were supported by the Bible societies in connection with Protestant Missions.[301] In order to show the increase of the circulation of the Bible, we attach the following statistics:

Year	*Total Circulation*
1896	2,997
1997	6,335
1898	34,813
1899	43,121
1900	38,006
1901	16,814*
1902	28,716
1903	28,751
1904	52,003
1905	98,498
1906	127,269

The effect of this literature on the Korean people was marked. Rev. C. T. Collyer, Methodist Episcopal Mission, Songdo, writes:

"We have just completed five years of work here, prior to which this was absolutely unevangelized territory, and have to report a total of 307 members and probationers. Of this number I do not hesitate to

299 W. D. Reynolds, *The Korea Review* for May, 1906, pp. 177, 178.
300 Annual Report of the B. F. B. S. for 1905, p. 279.
301 *Ibid.* for 1903, p. 295.
* It was the year of famine in Korea.

say that at least 70 per cent are the direct result of the work of the colporteurs."[302]

This wide circulation of the Bible was the result of one of the important methods employed in Korea. The missionaries laid stress upon the acquisition by their converts of a knowledge of the Bible and insisted that as far as possible each Christian should possess a copy of his own. The Bible has always held a leading place in the Korean Church. We have already noted the success of the Bible Study Classes. The extensive circulation of the Scriptures shows that the people were learning to read them and were teaching others to read.

We have already referred to the part of the missionary in the rehabilitation of the Korean script. We feel, however, that it must again be pointed out that the standardization of the spoken language and the decrease of illiteracy, especially among women and children, was largely due to the translation of the Bible into pure Korean and to the wide circulation of the Scriptures among the rapidly increasing Christian constituency. The additional broadening of mental horizons and the growth in spiritual insight cannot be estimated.

PROGRESS TOWARDS UNION

We have already indicated the advancement made towards Christian union. When the Canadian Presbyterian Mission arrived, its missionaries became members of the Council of Missions Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government. They accepted the advice of the Council and took possession of the Northeastern Provinces for their field of labor. The Methodist Missions were desirous "that [their] two missions may work together as one body, as far as is practicable in the furtherance of God's kingdom among the Koreans and in the teaching of those glorious truths for which Methodism stands."[303] The Northern Methodists ceded

302 Annual Report of the B. F. B. S. for 1903, p. 287.
303 Official Mintues Korea Mission Conference, M. E. North for 1900, p. 10.

their work in Wonsan and Kang Won provinces to the Southern Methodist Mission. The Methodist missions also joined their educational and literary work. Besides denominational cooperation, there were some interdenominational undertakings, such as the educational work at Pyeng Yang and the temporary union in school work in Seoul. We have also noted the publication of a missionary journal by these two denominational bodies. In order to place the only existing mission press on a financial basis, a Union Publishing House was proposed. The three Bible societies united in appointing one joint agent. The Presbyterian bodies also joined hands in training ministers. Union seemed to be the watchword of the mission enterprise. There were even greater and more extensive unions proposed at the close of the years in review, but we leave that story to the following chapter.

This chapter will not be complete if we do not mention the dangers and difficulties which accompanied the rapid growth of the Christian community. First of all, there were difficulties growing out of the changing political situation. When the American missionaries first entered Korea, they supported the Korean government and maintained a strictly neutral attitude towards China. This was not only in accordance with the declared policy of the United States, but was also the part of wisdom for the reactionaries of the pro-Chinese party would naturally have been strengthened in their opposition to missions had the missionaries worked against them. During the time of the Japanese ascendancy in Korea, the missionaries foresaw what has since occurred, and in accordance with the request of the American representatives at Seoul they continued the attitude of strict neutrality. Undoubtedly that was wise, since interference in politics would have been contrary to the profession that the missionaries represented and would also have injured their cause. The policy, however, had varying results.

First, as to the government of Korea. From the beginning of missionary work there existed a very cordial relationship between the court and the missionaries. The latter had won the confidence of the emperor, and were often in-

vited to give advice and counsel. When Korean sovereignty was in danger, the emperor, who was still nominally the head of the government, turned to the missionaries for succor. The king had often heard them tell him that the power and wealth of the Westerners were due to the religion they professed. Now the emperor, not understanding what the missionaries meant, turned to them saying that he and his court were ready to accept Christianity and to declare it the state religion.[304] The missionaries naturally could not accept the proposal. When the emperor felt the strong hand of the Japanese, he again turned to the missionaries and urged them to go to America in his behalf to solicit the assistance of foreign powers[305] The missionaries again turned a deaf ear. At last, when the emperor found his own personal property insecure, he asked a missionary to take charge of his private investments. Once again he was refused.[306] The missionaries knew too well what was happening in the government. They had deep sympathy for the emperor, but they could do nothing.

A delicate situation was also that of the missionaries' attitude toward the Korean Christians, their own converts. The accepted policy toward political matters was given by Arthur J. Brown as follows:

> "The missionaries strongly believe, with the Boards at home, that all respect should be paid to the lawfully constituted civil authorities, but special care should be observed not to needlessly embarrass them, that the laws of the land should be obeyed and that it is better for disciples of Christ to patiently endure some injustice than to carry Christianity in antagonism to the government under which they labor."[307]

With the exception of a few partisans, this became the policy of the missionaries. It is comparatively easy for missionaries to be neutral, even tacitly to accept the incoming power, but the Koreans, who had been imbued with the spirit of freedom

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304 L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, p. 204.
305 *Ibid.*, p. 235.
306 *Ibid.*, p. 235.
307 A. J. Brown, *Report of a Visitation of the Korea Mission* (1901), p. 6.

of the Christian religion and were enlightened by a knowledge of the laws of civilized nations, could not remain silent. The Korean Christians believed that the missionaries were apostles of justice and righteousness. They turned to them for advice and solicited their assistance. The missionaries, perforce, had to assume an attitude of neutrality. It was natural, therefore, for Koreans to assume that Christianity was not a religion of world-brotherhood and that the missionaries were not apostles of peace, but that Chirstianity was the handmaid of imperialism. and that the missionaries were a vanguard of the imperialists. A missionary reported that his "inability to give definite help has often interpreted itself to the Korean mind as lack of interest in them, or feebleness of love, causing many to split off, at times, and seek other affiliations."[308]

To make the situation worse, the estrangement between Koreans and Jananese grew wider and wider. Following the Russo-Japanese war, the military party in Japan believed that the Koreans "should be ruled with an iron hands, and so thoroughly cowed that they will never dare to assert themselves against the Japanese....The military party governed Korea immediately after....the war, and its inexorable methods, together with the brutality and greed of a swarm of Japanese adventurers who came over to exploit the helpless country, were fast reducing the people to the desperation of despair."[309] The tragedies which cannot be told here have been gathered and fill two volumes.[310] Fair-minded Japanese recognize the brutalities that the Japanese have committed in Korea. Professor K. Asakawa says :

"As a citizen of Japan....all blunders of my compatriots in Korea burn me with shame and regret."[311]

Not only were human interests and ethics involved in the impairment of the rights of the Korean people, but through their Korean converts the missionaries indirectly clashed with the new rulers. W. E. Smith of Fusan reported in 1905 :

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308 N. P. Report for 1907, p. 254.
309 A. J. Brown, *The Korean Conspiracy Case*, pp. 3, 4.
310 F. A. McKenzie, *The Tragedy of Korea*, *Korea's Fight for Freedom*.
311 Asakawa's letter to the Editor of the *Korea Review*, dated Hanover, N. H. March 12, 1905, Vol. 6 (April, 1905), p. 132.

"It was a painful duty to have to inquire as to the authority and right of the Japanese military railroad to seize and destory the church building of the Masanpo group. The building they paid a nominal sum for ; the land, like other land, was appropriated without compensation to the owner.[312]

There are many instances of this kind, and much worse could be cited. This one suffices to show, however, the delicate situation in which the missionaries were. In spite of injustices, however, missionaries had to advise the Korean converts to be patient.

The last of the series of problems was the attitude toward the non-Christians and newly converted. The Korean people were placed in a new situation. They were left without leaders and without friends. They were eager to find the way out. They were making efforts to see the right way, and to adjust themselves to, or to overthrow, the new regime. Some of them tried the Tong Hak sect, but that failed. Many joined political organizations, but they found no help there. Still others went to the sugar plantations in Hawaii. Numbers tried the Christian Church. Mr. Elmer M. Cable reported :

"A great many came into the Church just as the old empire was passing from Korean tutelage into the firm and avaricious grip of the Island Kingdom, hoping to secure prestige, and, in some instances, foreign intervention against their enemies, and, failing to secure this, have fallen away ; others, becoming disheartened over the political condition, have drifted from the Church into a state of neglect and unconcern, and, in some instances, are uniting themselves with societies which are being organized for the sole purpose of opposing the church."[313]

"There were some ambitious political leaders who came into the church to utilize it for political purposes. One of the outstanding examples of this was the Epworth League in Korea. The organization was disbanded in 1906 on account of its political activities. The superintendent of the mission reported as follow :

"The Epworth League was disbanded by the superintendent during the year. The reasons for this action are that the League had changed

312 *Korea Mission Field,* Vol. 2. No.3 (January, 1906), p. 57.
313 M. E. North Report for 1906, p. 325.

in many places the purpose of the church, and become a political organization. It was becoming a reproach to us; it encroached upon and usurped the powers of the Quarterly Conference; it was leading a double life before the Church and within itself; and besides not acknowledging the control of the Church over them, the members were largely falling under the control of outsiders, who had been admitted among them as associate members, and who were carrying away the league from the purposes of the Church to that of the world."[314]

The missionary's relations with the new rulers were equally critical and difficult. The problem of the missionaries was to win the confidence of the Japanese and at the same time to hold the faith and trust of the Koreans, who declared the Japanese to be their enemies. The Japanese knew that the missionaries had been kindly disposed toward the Korean court, and in some instances had defended the rights of the Korean people. On account of the nature of their work, the missionaries were more closely associated with the Koreans than with the Japanese. Then, after all political organizations and other so-called religious sects, such as the Tong Haks, had been crushed, there alone remained the Christian Church, composed of intelligent and potentially powerful elements of the nation. The Church, moreover, was growing, both in numbers and in power and in spiritual and material strength. In a land of despair and humiliation there was life and hope in the Christain community. Japanese naturally were suspicious. Thus the estragement between the Christian Church and the ruling government began to grow and culminated in the so-called "conspiracy case" in 1911.

Besides the vexing problems connected with the political situation, there were other grave difficulties confronting missionary work in Korea. First of all, there was conflict with the Roman Catholics. In the last chapter we cited a missionary who said that the Catholics formed "an extensive organization whose members support one another in forcing others to yield to them in temporal affairs." We are now to offer an example in evidence of the truth of this statement. In

314 M. E. North Report for 1906 p. 322.

the fall of 1901, the Roman Catholics in Whanghai province began collecting funds from Protestant Christians for the erecting of a church. When any refused the demand, they were bound and beaten and left helpless' When this was made known to the governor, he sent police to arrest the offenders, but the Catholics raised a band and beat off the police and some of them armed themselves to defy the local authorities. The matter was soon made known to the Central Government, and attracted much attention from the foreign community and the general public.[315] In spite of the efforts of the Catholic authorities, the Central Government despatched a special commissioner to try the offenders. Both the French Catholic priests and the American missionaries attended the court in the interests of their constituencies. In order to shift the responsibility to a foreigner, and so have the case dropped, the French priest confessed that he had incited his people to the outrage. The commissioner refused to excuse the Koreans, however, and punished them for "homicide, grand larceny, house-breaking, assault and illegal arrest."[316] This case was not only a moral victory for the Protestants but also demonstrated to the people the folly of trusting the strength of the Catholic Church and the extra-territorial rights of its priests. It also revealed the position of the French Church in regard to the use of temporal power in religious propaganda and weakened the general belief in the moral strength and upright character of its converts.

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315 Art. IV, the Treaty for the Extension of the Commercial Relations between the United States and China, on October 8, 1903, reads, in part: "Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who, according to these tenets peaceably teaches and practices the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested therefore."—John V. A. McMurry, *Treaties and Agreements with and concerning China*, Vol. 1, p. 450.

316 *Korea Review* for November, 1903, p. 499. The Whanghai case was not the only one. A similar incident was also reported from Quelpart and the Chung Chyong province.—*Ibid.* for August, 1901 p. 357 and for June, 1903, p. 267.

EXTRATERRITORIAL RIGHTS OF MISSIONARIES

It will be interesting to inquire how far the Protestant missionaries utilized their extraterritorial rights in Korea. We have already pointed out that they took advantage of the "most favored nation" clause in the treaty to settle in the interior and acquire property. Some missionaries believed that a Korean who received a salary from mission funds must be protected. Mr. W. C. Swearer reported, in 1902, in the case of his helper, who was arrested by a local governor: "Mr. Kim was a regular helper, under salary, and had been arrested out of hand *without previous notification to either the American Minister or myself.*"[317]

The Hon. H. N. Allen, the late American Minister to Korea, speaks of the extraterritorial rights as follows:

"It would seem to be unwise to bestow such power as this upon the whole mass of missionaries. A few carefully selected men might use it without abuse and for the good of all, but to clothe men indiscriminately with these exterritorial powers and send them into the interior, away from their own authorities, and where they would be subject to no law, seems to be a mistake, since some of the men will surely prove to be weak either in temper, judgment or sympathy. When trouble does come, of course the native is the one ultimately to suffer. Every time a case of that kind occurred in Korea, such as the violation of the domicile of an American by the over-zealous officials of some interior town, it was a foregone conclusion that the natives would have to pay for the 'outrage' by being obliged to grant new and large liberties of residence or ownership of property, in violation of strict treaty provision."[318]

It is true that the Koreans persecuted the Roman Catholic missionaries in the eighteen sixties, but since the opening of the country to the West, the Korean government and people have been friendly toward missionaries. The great anti-foreign movement in China, in 1900 seems not to have affected Korean people, but toward the end of the year of the Boxer uprising Dr. and Mrs. Underwood, who were then traveling in the interior provinces of Korea, received intelligence that there had been circulated a secret edict among

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317 M. E. North Report for 1902, p. 319.
318 H. N. Allen, *Things Korean*, p. 182.

various magistrates in the country commanding an uprising against foreigners and their followers, on December 6, 1900. Dr. Underwood reported the matter to the American Minister by wire. Upon receiving the alarming news, the representatives of foreign nations took such prompt measures that the plot was frustrated, and the intriguers in the court who originated the edict were seized and executed.[319]

MOTIVES OF THE KOREAN CHRISTIANS

In this chapter we have made a rapid survey of the progress of Christian expansion from the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese war to the beginning of Japanese rule. There have been many theories of the causes for the rapid rise of the Christian Church. Dr. Brown names the "docile and affectionate nature of the people," easy access to the people, the weakness of the Korean religious systems, the desire for relief from political oppression, the terror of the Sino-Japanese war, and the favor of the court.[320] In order to understand the underlying causes, it is necessary to analyze the motives which impelled the Koreans to turn to the Church. A Japanese editor at Seoul, who could not appreciate the Christian movement as readily as the missionaries, stated: "If an adherent of Christianity in Korea were asked his reasons for joining the Christian Church he would give one or the other of the following: (1) Because others told me to, (2) to get sugar which was promised, (3) to get medicine, (4) to get money, (5) because they say it is better than to get an official position, (6) because my parents did so, (7) to get power, (8) to escape the tax-collector, (9) to get away from the jurisdiction of the prefect, (10) to escape from the persecution of the peddlers' guild.[321] (11) to escape the private inspectors, (12) to escape taxation, (13) to escape the continual importunities of the adherents of that religion,

319 L. H. Underwood, *Fifteen Years Among the Top-Knots*, pp. 249, 250; A. J. Brown, *The Report of a Visitation of the Korea Mission*, pp. 7, 8.

320 A. J. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

321 The trade union which was utilized by the reactionaries in coping against the Independent Club.

(14) to escape arrest, (15) to be able to steal with impunity, (16) to escape the consequences of having been a Tong Hak, (17) in order to have an opportunity to play, (18) because many handsome women have entered it, (19) because they say I shall see Heaven, (20) in order to have an opportunity to ride upon the clouds and see the Four Seas."[322] The editor of the *Korea Review*, commenting upon the statement, declares it to be "fictitious."[323] We believe it is so to a large extent. Let us therefore examine what the missionaries themselves found. Rev. C. E. Sharp divided the motives which led the Koreans to become Christians into three categories. First of all, there were those who were actuated by the "desire for protection and power." "Owing to the uncertainty of the times, people have been banding together for mutual help....These people were simply after the help that comes from union...[and they believed] that there was only one society that amounted to anything...the Christian Church.[324]..."Another motive that is moving many at the present time is more refined than the above. Many are realizing the failure of the ancient civilization of their fathers, in the stress of the twentieth century. They see that the nations styled Christian are the ones that today possess the highest civilization and culture, and, turning from the old, they are seeking the new. But with many of these, Christianity means a kind of civilization only....These people are calling for schools and Western learning and Western culture....But there is also a third phase of this turning to Christianity at the present time. There does exist a real soul hunger and there is a real work of God's spirit in the hearts of many."[325]

Dr. Arthur J. Brown, who visited the Korean Church in 1901, testifies to the character of the Korean Christian as follows:

"As I sat in the lowly chapels, and communed with the white-robed

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322 *Korea Review* for June, 1901, p. 267.
323 *Ibid.*
324 C. E. Sharp, "Motives for Seeking Christ," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 2, No. 10 (August, 1906), p. 182.
325 C. E. Sharp, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

worshippers sitting, Korean fashion, on the floor; as I saw how the Gospel had enlightened their hearts and how their once joyless lives now centered in the Church of God, which gave them their only light and peace, I felt that Horatius Bonar's exquisite lines were *literally exemplified in the typical Korean Christian*:[326]

"I heard the voice of Jesus say,
'Behold, I freely give
The living water; thirsty one,
Stoop down and drink, and live;'
I came to Jesus and I drank
Of that life-giving stream;
My thirst was quenched, my soul revived,
And now I live in Him.

"I heard the voice of Jesus say,
'I am this dark world's light;
Look unto Me, thy morn shall rise,
And all thy day be bright;'
I looked to Jesus and I found
In Him my Star, my Sun;
And in the light of life I'll walk,
Till all my journey's done."

326 A. J. Brown, *Report of a Visitation of the Korea Mission* (1901), p. 35.

CHAPTER VI

THE REVIVAL AND THE GROWTH OF THE CHURCH, 1907-1910

In the last chapter we have reviewed the rapid progress of the new faith among the vigorous and independent people of Northern Korea, and their zeal for the propagation of the faith, and self-support. The time had now come when the movement was to extend throughout the peninsula. The four years from 1907 to 1910 are marked by many great events both in the political and the religious history of Korea. Politically, the Japanese protectorate which was established in 1905 resulted in 1910 in annexation, and the political independence of the country was terminated. Religiously, the period begins with a great awakening, which was followed by a nation-wide evangelistic campaign known as "The Million Movement." The religious revival gave new impetus to the educational revolution.

The political events of the period are so recent that they are still fresh in our memories. Four outstanding events must, however, be recalled : the administration of the Japanese Resident-General in Korea, the abdication of the late Emperor Kwang Mu, the assassination of Prince Ito, and the annexation or union of Korea with Japan.

When the Japanese proclaimed the protectorate, Marquis Hirobumi Ito, who had concluded the treaty, was sent to Korea as the first Japanese Resident-General. Both because of his service in accomplishing the union and of his experienced statesmanship the Marquis was perhaps a good choice for the post. Mr. F. A. McKenzie, the author of *The Tragedy of Korea*, says that he was "a man greater than his policies. Every one who came in contact with him felt that, whatever the nature of the measures he was driven to adopt in the supposed interests of his Emperor, he yet sincerely meant

well by the Korean people."[1] Marquis Ito brought with him a few capable Japanese officers and began his administration in an orderly manner. In order to win the confidence of the people, he instituted a close control of the Japanese adventurers, ruffians, and bullies, and sent the worst offenders back to Japan. He also separated the court and the state in order to avoid the confusion between royal and state income. Besides these measures, local administrative reforms were inaugurated and new laws for taxation and the establishment of justice were promulgated. The police service of the country was reorganized under Japanese control, the laws were codified, and schools and charity hospitals were established. Such were the characteristics of the Ito administration, and they were undoubtedly of material benefit to the country. As we have already pointed out, however, Japan looked upon Korea as a military base and as a field of colonization. In order to attain these ends, following the Russo-Japanese war martial law was proclaimed, railways for military purposes were built with forced labor, and under the plea of "military necessity" much property was confiscated. In the name of preserving peace and order, court martial become a frequent judicial procedure. To make the situation worse, large numbers of Japanese immigrants came and exploited a helpless people. Japan began her rule in the peninsular kingdom under the handicap of a centuries old legacy of hatred and misunderstanding, and this and the Cromwellian methods of the military leaders nullified much of the work of Ito and further estranged the two peoples.

The Emperor was still nominally the ruler of the country, but he was a mere figurehead. "Patriotism, tradition, and selfish interest all combined to intensify" the strong sentiment of the Emperor and his court against the Japanese when the protectorate was forced upon the nation. In 1905 the Emperor had failed to secure the intervention of the United States, but he was still indulging in vain efforts to drive out the Japanese. He despatched a secret mission to the Hague

1 F. A. McKenzie, *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, p. 104.

Conference of 1907 to solicit the intervention of the nations gathered there. There was, however, not a nation which had a large enough material interest in Korea to be induced to take up the quarrel with Japan, and the Conference refused to give a hearing to the mission. A greater tragedy was soon enacted in the abdication of the Emperor. The helpless and pitiful ruler, surrounded and coaxed by the corrupt officials, on July 19, 1907, descended from his throne in favor of the Crown Prince. In spite of the weakness of his character and his lack of determination, the Emperor was popularly believed to have good intentions, and the people were correspondingly loyal to him and bitter toward the Japanese.

Soon after the Emperor's abdication, the Korean army was disbanded. The ex-soldiers thereupon gathered in bands to resist the Japanese and disturbances and disorders became prevalent. Many spirited younger Koreans emigrated to the United States, Siberia, and China, not only to insure their safety, but to carry on political activities from without. All this growing estrangement of the Japanese and Koreans terminated in the assassination on October 20, 1909, of Marquis Ito at Harbin by a young Korean Catholic by the name of Ahn Chung Keun. In March of the preceding year there had occurred in San Francisco the shooting of Mr. Durham White Stevens. Mr. Stevens was an American citizen who was an adviser to the Department of Foreign Affairs in the Ito administration. When he arrived in San Francisco he gave an interview to the newspapers defending the Japanese activities in Korea. The statement aroused the hatred of a reckless young Korean patriot, and the murder followed.[2] These assassins were inflamed with a new-found patriotism, and they meant to serve their country. They did much harm, however, for these deaths not only destroyed the sympathy of the world toward Korea, but also afforded an opportunity to bring about the speedy accomplishment of the Japanese designs. The militarists soon inaugurated a drastic

2 The man was named Chang In Whan. He is a Protestant Christian and is still living in California, after having served a long term of imprisonment.

policy and sent out to Korea Count Seiki Terauchi to make a treaty of union of the two countries—the annexation of Korea to Japan. The termination of the independence of the ancient kingdom was accomplished on August 22, 1910, and on that day the Yi dynasty came to an end and Count Terauchi began his rule as the Governor-General.

MISSIONARY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WEST

Let us now turn our attention to the missionary development in the West, especially in America. This four year period was marked by a steady increase in missionary interest. This showed itself especially in the Laymen's Missionary Movement, the missionary educational enterprise, and the beginning of a closer coöperation among missionary societies in America and with societies in the European continent, which culminated in the World Missionary Conference at Ed inburgh in June, 1910.

In order "to project a campaign of education among laymen to be conducted under the direction of the various boards, to devise a comprehensive plan (in conjunction with said board secretaries) looking toward the evangelization of the world in this generation, [and] to endeavor to form, through the various boards a Centennial Commission of Laymen, fifty or more in number, to visit as early as possible the mission fields and report their findings to the church at home," on November 15, 1906, the Laymen's Missionary Movement[3] was organized. It was not a new missionary agency to collect funds or to administer them, nor was it an interdenominational movement which proposed to do its work outside of regular denominational lines. It was a movement among the laymen in the churches to increase missionary offerings in order that the foreign mission program of each denomination might more effectively be carried on. The movement carried on an extensive educational program by

3 For the historical date of the organization, progress and work of the Laymen's Missionary Movement, see the reports of the Movement in the Proceedings of the Foreign Missions Boards for 1906, pp. 85-97; for 1907, pp. 25-41; for 1908, pp. 141-156; for 1909, pp. 124-130; and for 1910, pp. 158-166.

holding large conventions in different centers, undertook to increase the giving of laymen, and stimulated the people at the home base with reports of needs and opportunities in mission fields. Thus the Movement served not only as a money-raising agency, but also as a religious movement to arouse new interest and devotion.

The Young People's Missionary Movement was organized in 1902 among young people in churches, "to coöperate with the Boards of Missions of the various evangelical churches in the United States in interesting young people in their missionary work."[4] Gradually the Movement took root among the organizations of young people, and missionary activity and education became a part of all young peoples' societies. The movement increased knowledge of missions and served to add to the financial income of the mission boards of the United States and Canada.

Besides these movements, the coöperation and correlation of missionary bodies became more extensive. As early as 1894 there was organized in the United States and Canada the Conference of Foreign Missions Boards which was held annually "for the consideration of questions of administration pertaining to Foreign Missions."[5]

In 1905, the Conference appointed the Committee on Reference and Arbitration to deal with "the settlement of questions arising on the mission field between the missions of different boards, to make suggestions in regard to unoccupied fields, [and] negotiations with the government."[6] In 1907 the name of the Committee was changed to the Committee on Reference and Counsel.[7] In 1910, in order to deal with mission problems of an international character, the Conference of Missions Boards appointed an International Committee

4 For the historical data and constitution of the organization, see H. W. Hicks, "The Young People's Missionary Movement," Proceedings of the 12th Conference of Foreign Mission Boards (1905), pp. 33-44; C. C. Michener, *Ibid.* for 18th Conference (1908), pp. 136-141.

5 Constitution of the Conference, Proceedings of the 13th Conference of Foreign Missions Boards (1906), p. 3.

6 A. J. Brown, Report of the Committee on Reference and Arbitration, *Ibid.* for 14th Conference (1907), p. 80.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 84.

"to serve as a medium of communication between the Boards and Societies of Foreign Missions throughout the world, and to represent them in matters of common interest." The Conference's Committee on Reference and Counsel was authorized "to act as the American section of such International Committee in concert with the General Executive Committee of the Continental Societies.[8]

Thus most of the mission agencies at the home base were interrelated for mutual conference and united action in the furtherance of the missionary enterprise. In 1910 the World's Missionary Conference was called at Edinburgh to make "a tremendous demonstration to the world of the magnitude and importance of the foreign missionary enterprise and a summons to the Church to give that enterprise a more adequate support."[9]

The work of the missionary movement at the home base, especially in America, can be summarized in the statement that the Student Volunteer Movement, which we have mentioned in preceding chapters, was providing missionaries; the Young People's Missionary Movement was promoting the missionary education of the men and women of the future; the Laymen's Missionary Movement was furnishing money for the support of mission work; and the Mission Boards were carrying on the work of administration with an increasing measure of coöperation.

Besides these general movements in America which stimulated and deepened the interest in the spread of the Christian religion abroad, there were special efforts made in America for the strengthening of missions in Korea. First of all, there was what was called the Korea propaganda in the Northern Presbyterian churches in America. In December, 1907, the Foreign Mission Board of the Northern Presbyterian Church commissioned Korea missionaries who

8 Proceedings of the 17th Conference of Foreign Missions Boards (1910), p. 115.

9 Proceedings of the 17th Conference of Foreign Missions Boards (1910), p. 177.

were on furlough[10] to inaugurate a special campaign in order to raise the necessary funds for additional reinforcements and equipment for the mission. The Board, in sanctioning the request for raising a sum of $ 229,340, declared :

"We were forced to it by the logic of the situation. When we considered that the work in that land had tripled in the past five years... while the missionary force had been augmented but one-third, it was evident that the missionary body was inadequate for the increased work and that reinforcements were imperative."[11]

As the result of the campaign, a sum of $ 90,170.42 was obtained and sent out during the years 1907-1908, while about twenty new missionaries (including wives) went out.[12]

The Northern Methodist Church also made a special effort. In 1907, the General Committee of Foreign Missions authorized a special request of the Korea Mission for $ 10,000 "to meet the urgent situation."[13] In that year six new missionaries were sent out.[14] In 1908 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church approved of celebrating in 1910 the Quarter Centennial of the founding of the Korea Mission. Constant appeals were made to the home churches by every mission in the country. In 1909 the Southern Presbyterian Mission requested a sum of $ 100,000 for institutional work and for thirty additional missionaries.[15] In 1907, while Dr. Robert Grierson was in Canada on furlough, the Canadian Presbyterian Church authorized him to secure funds for the mission.[16]

Aside from these constant financial appeals, encouraging reports were widely circulated among the Christian constituency in the home base. In 1907 Dr. John R. Mott declared :

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10 The missionaries who took active part in the work were H. G. Underwood, E. F. Hall, R. H. Sidebotham, A. M. Sharrocks, O. R. Avison, and W. N. Blair.
11 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1908, pp. 272, 273.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 273.
13 Methodist Episcopal Church North Report for 1907, p. 15.
14 *Ibid.* for 1908, p. 24.
15 Annual Report of Executive Committee of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S.—*The Missionary*, Vol. 42, No. 5 (May, 1910), pp. 222, 223.
16 Foreign Mission Report of the Presbyterian Church in Canada for 1907, p. 118.

"During my recent tour in the Far East I found the deep conviction that if the present work on the part of the coöperating missions in Korea is adequately sustained and enlarged in the immediate future, Korea will be the first nation in the non-Christian world to become a Christian nation. I know of no mission field where larger or more substantial results have been secured, in proportion to the expenditure, than in Korea."[17]

F. A. McKenzie, war correspondent of the London *Daily Mail*, wrote:

"I believe in foreign missions because of what I have seen of the lives and the records of the churches in distant lands. In Northern Korea we have today one of the most remarkable examples of what the modern missionary movement is succeeding in doing....I have tested the converts of this church. I had several of them in my employment for months during the testing times of the Japanese War. I had to trust them largely and they could have fleeced me at many points. I found them the most faithful and most enthusiastic and the most daring native servants I have ever known."[18]

Another newspaper correspondent, William T. Ellis, wrote:

"Cannot you say something or do something to make the church in America realize that here in Korea, just now, is the Christian opportunity of centuries? This situation is extraordinary and amazing. The whole country is fruit ripe for the picking....If the Christian Church has any conception of strategy and appreciation of an opportunity, and any sense of relative values, she will act at once—not next year, but now."[19]

In 1909, Dr. A. J. Brown in reporting his second visit to the Korea Mission declared that:

"Every year it has seemed that the movement must have reached its climax and that there would certainly be a reaction; but every year has seen the movement broadening and deepening until it now looks as if Korea would be the first of the non-Christian nations to become evangelized."[20]

Thus the Korea Mission was constantly and widely recommended to the attention of the Christian people at the home base during these years of Christian advance in the Peninsular Kingdom.

17 *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 4, (May, 1908), p. 65; Annual Report of the Board of Missions M. E. Church South (1908), p. 10.
18 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1907, pp. 282, 283.
19 *Ibid.*
20 A. J. Brown's Report on a second visit to China, Japan and Korea (1909), p. 85.

EVANGELISTIC WORK

We have seen what the Koreans were passing through, a helpless people without friends, stricken by despair and deep national humiliation, yet trying to readjust themselves to new political, economic, and social conditions. The old foundations had been shaken, and the old order was passing. The people were in dire need of sympathetic friends, hope-restoring encouagement, and leaders who could direct them in the necessary readjustment. National humiliation induced melancholy and the intense hatred of the unconquerable enemy produced a deep sense of fear. Thus the problem of the Korean people was at bottom a spiritual one, In the meantime, the missionary enterprise was inaugurating an aggressive program under the auspices of American missionaries of Puritanic zeal and Wesleyan fervor, Under such circumstances a religious movement seemed inevitable. A year-by-year account of the evangelistic movement is an almost impossible task. In this chapter, we shall therefore, instead of describing progress by geographical divisions, summarize the outstanding manifestations of the new-found religious zeal of the Korean Church.

As far as we can trace the origin of the revival, it began in 1903, when a group of missionaries of the Methodist Mission met for a week of prayer and Bible study at Wonsan. Among these was a Canadian missionary, Dr. R. A. Hardie. It will be recalled that Dr. Hardie went to Korea as a medical missionary of the Canadian Colleges' Mission, but that in 1898 he had severed his former relationship and joined the Southern Methodist Mission and engaged in evangelistic work at Wonsan. Under the appointment of his mission, he had charge over a pioneer district in Kang Won province. The new work was difficult, and he wrote:

"For three years I had labored hard in the region of Chi Kyung Tu, where the first church in Kang Won...[province] was organized, and the failure of the work there had done more than anything else to break me down and bring me to the end of myself."[21]

This sense of failure made him restless. During the

21 Methodist Church South Report for 1905, pp. 39-44.

conference he became conscious of the possession of a new spirit, and before those among whom the greater part of his missionary life had been spent he made an acknowledgment of his failure and of its cause.[22] Then he desired "to see Koreans convicted of sin and to see them have actual and living experience."[23] Dr. Hardie tells how he brought the Korean Christians to share his religious experience. He wrote:

"After I had entered upon a realization of the fulness of the Spirit and with shame and confusion of face confessed my pride, hardness of heart, and lack of faith, and also much that these had led to, they saw for the first time what conviction and repentance mean in actual experience. I told them of how by simple faith in God's promise I had claimed the gift of the Holy Ghost."[24]

In 1904, the Bible Conference among the missionaries at Wonsan was repeated, with a similar experience.[25] So far, there was only a local beginning, However, missionaries at other points soon began similar conferences and prayer meetings. The missionaries of Pyeng Yang, having heard what had happened at Wonsan, desired to have a Bible Conference, and in August of 1906 invited Dr. Hardie to lead them. The members of both Methodist and Presbyterian missions joined in a week of conference for the deepening of their spiritual life. Following the gathering at Pyeng Yang, the Presbyterian Mission held its annual meeting at Seoul. There the Rev. Howard Agnew Johnson of New York, who was then visiting the Korea mission, told of the religious revivals in India and in Wales, and later repeated the story to the Korean Christians at Pyeng Yang. Dr. Graham Lee says, "his telling of it gave some of the people a great desire to have the same blessing."[26] During the summer and fall the missionaries of Pyeng Yang continued their prayer meetings and held special meetings for the Korean Christians in the city. They were, indeed, making conscious efforts to bring

22 Methodist Church South Report for 1905, pp 39-4 4.
23 *Ibid.*
24 *Ibid.*
25 L. H. McCully, *op. cit.*, pp. 227, 228.
26 Graham Lee, "How the Spirit came to Pyeng Yang." *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 3. No. 3 (March, 1907.) pp. 33-07.

about a deepening spiritual experience. Mr. George S. McCune, writing on January 15, 1907, from Pyeng Yang, said :

"Beginning the day after Christmas the missionaries have been praying definitely for His power. Until this time we have been meeting at the noon hour. We began the meeting with confessions among ourselves and although the community (missionary) is almost perfect, (I can say this since I have been here for so short a time and will not appear to be boasting) we found something to confess to one another in order that we might have the blessing we were praying for."[27]

In the meantime, the missionaries felt keenly the estrangement between the Japanese and Korean people which seemed to presage a general uprising. There was every reason for the missionaries to avoid such an occurrence. They not only understood the hopelessness of fighting for the lost cause but foresaw the danger of making the young Christian Church a political agency. The Rev. W. N. Blair of Pyeng Yang says :

"We [missionaries] felt that the Korean church needed not only to repent of hating the Japanese, but a clear vision of all sin against God, that many had come into the church sincerely believing in Jesus as their Savior and anxious to do God's will without great sorrow for sin because of its familiarity....We felt....that embittered souls needed to have their thoughts taken away from the national situation to their own personal relation with the Master."[28]

The state of the popular mind was then such that it was peculiarly receptive to a religious message. The Rev. J. R. Moose of the Southern Methodist Mission says :

"It might not be the whole truth to say that this great awakening among the people is wholly and completely the result of preaching and book selling....The general unrest and lack of something to which they may cling is causing the people to turn to the missionary and the message he has, and they are trying to find out if we have something which they can trust."[29]

In its despair and disillusionment the popular mind was impressionable.

Thus we see that there were three factors in the pre-

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27 Letter from G. S. McCune dated Pyeng Yang, Jan. 15, 1907. the Korea Information Papers, Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. New York.

28 W. N. Blair, *The Korean Pentecost*, p. 42.

29 J. R. Moose, "A Great Awakening," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (January, 1907), p. 51.

paration for the revival: first was a sense of failure, which created a "divided soul"; next was the desire for heightening of the spiritual experience by messages from the outside; and third, the definite attempt of the missionaries to bring about a revival.

The missionaries made special efforts to bring their hopes to fruition during the time of the annual Bible Training Class, which met at Pyeng Yang at the beginning of January, 1907. The class met for a ten days' session and took up Bible study according to the established manner. The evenings, however, were entirely devoted to special evangelistic preaching. At one of these evening sessions, the outbreak of the revival took place. An adequate description of the movement is almost an impossible task, nor is it necessary in the present investigation, but in order to make possible an understanding of the nature of the revival we shall give a contemporary account written by Lord William Cecil, of England, which was published in the London *Times*. At one of the evening meetings, a church officer arose and confessed a grudge which he had against a missionary and implored the latter's forgiveness. As the missionary stood and began to pray, a strange emotion overtook the audience. Lord Cecil wrote:

"He reached only the word 'my Father' when a rush of power from without seemed to take hold of the meeting. The Europeans described its manifestation as terrifying. Nearly everybody present was seized with the most poignant sense of mental anguish; before each one his own sins seemed to be rising in condemnation of his life. Some were springing to their feet pleading for an opportunity to relieve their consciences by making their abasement known, others were silent, but rent with agony, clenching their fists and striking their heads against the ground in the struggle to resist the power that would force them to confess their misdeeds. From eight in the evening till five in the morning did this same go on, and then the missionaries, horror-struck at some of the sins confessed, frightened by the presence of a power which could work such wonders, reduced to tears by sympathy with the mental agony of the Korean disciples whom they loved so dearly, stopped, but many of the Koreans spent the night awake; some in prayer, others in terrible spiritual conflict. Next day the missionaries hoped that the storm was over and that the comforting teaching of the Holy Word would bind up

the wounds of yester-night but again the same anguish, thesame confession of sins ; and so it went on for several days."[30]

Another notable feature of the revival was the audible prayers made in unison. An eye witness of the beginning of the practice describes it as follows :

"After a short sermon, Mr. [Graham] Lee took charge of the meeting and called for prayer. So many began praying that Mr. Lee said, 'If you want to pray like that, all pray,' and the whole andience began to pray out loud, all together. The effect was indescribable. Not confusion, but a vast harmony of souls and spirit, a mingling together of souls moved by an irresistible impulse of prayer. The prayer sounded to me like the falling of many waters, an ocean of prayer beating against God's throne."[31]

And another missionary says: "It was wonderful to hear over one thouand voices praying at one time in perfect harmony."[32] It was reported that public confession of sins determined the extent of the revival, and the fervor of the prayer in unison proved the depth of the spiritual experience.[33]

When the General Bible Training Class of the Northern Presbyterian Mission at Pyeng Yang closed, the men who had witnessed the outbreak of the revival went to their homes in the interior and spread the news to their fellow believers in the villages. While the message was carried from place to place, longing and desire for the spiritual experience were created in the minds of the people in the country. In the meantime, the contagion spread among the impressionable minds of the students in the college and academies in Pyeng Yang. The genesis and development of the movement is given by Mr. A. L. Becker, of the Union Christian College and Academy, in the following words:

"Just before the school opened in February the Spirit descended upon the Presbyterian Bible class then in session, and we wanted the school to be blessed....After the students came in we thought it was wise to discontinue the usual schedule and made a special schedule of

30 Quoted by the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Vol. 88, No. 2 (February, 1908), p. 58

31 W. N. Blair, *The Korean Pentecost*, p. 403.

32 Letter from G. S. McCune, dated Pyeng Yang, Jan. 15, 1907, The Korea Information Papers, Presbyterian Board of Missions, New York.

33 Methodist Episcopal Report for 1907, pp. 420, 421.

Bible study and prayer, covering morning, afternoon, and evening. We did nothing to excite simply the emotions and little was attempted in the way of leadership....but we simply tried to point to the cross. Yet the power of the Spirit was so evident that even those who were skeptical....were broken down in agonizing contrition. At one time I counted more then thirty boys who had stood for hours to get a chance to throw off their burden of sin....About nine-tenths of the students were deeply stirred and born again at this time. A large number became evangelists burning with a zeal for the cross, carrying revival fires not only to the city and nearby country churches, but also as far as Chemulpo and Kong ju."[34]

The storm also overtook the students at the Advanced School for Girls and Women in Pyeng Yang.[35] In spite of the initial antagonism on the part of the Korean leaders in the Methodist Church at Pyeng Yang, the same experience was repeated. there.[36] Thus the whole Christian constituency in Pyeng Yang felt a hitherto unexperienced power. They soon united their efforts in a city evangelistic campaign which resulted in enrolling a large number of new converts in both churches.

The movement, quietly begun among the Methodist missionaries at Wonsan Beach, had now received a new impetus, and was destined to become nation-wide. Immediatelly following the campaign in Pyeng Yang, the Methodist Mission held a training class for preachers and Christian workers in that city. Among these the experience of former meetings was repeated.[37] In March of that year, in the same city, the Presbyterian Women's General Bible Training Class was held for twelve days. During the session these women, too, experienced the manifestation which they had already heard of and longed for. In May of the same year the Presbyterian Theological Seminary students gathered at Pyeng Yang for

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34 M. E. North Report for 1907 p. 419 ; Mrs. W. M. Baird (Annie A.). "The Spirit among Pyeng Yang Students" *K. M. F.*, Vol. 3, No, 5 (May, 1907), pp. 65-67.

45 Graham Lee, "How the Spirit Came to Pyeng Yang," K. M. F. Vol. 3, No. 3 (March, 1907), p. 36.

36 Board of Foreign Missions, M. E. Church, "The Religious Awakening," p. 8.

37 W. L. Swallen, *God's Work of Grace Continued in Pyeng Yang Korea*, p. 2.

their annual three months' training. At the beginning of the term the missionaries conducted special revival meetings for these men. A missionary describes the result: "These men, who are to be the pastors of Korean Churches, experienced the fire of the Holy Spirit burning sin out of their lives."[38]

The logical outcome of these preparations—a nation-wide revival—was obvious and came quickly. The missionaries in other stations, especially Dr. Hardie and J. L. Gerdine, another Southern Methodist missionary, and Korean ministers —Rev. Kil Sun Chu, of Pyeng Yang in particular—held revival meetings throughout the country. Wherever there were Christians, the revival experiences were repeated. Whatever the rational explanation of the movement may be, sober observers did not look upon it as mere manifestation of the "abnormal psychological character"[39] of the Korean people. Lord Cecil, to whom we have already referred, wrote as follows:

"Whatever may be the result, the development of events in Korea will be watched by men with the keenest interest; and not the least interested will be those who see in this outpouring of the Spirit at Pyeng Yang an analogous manifestation of that which preceded the great Wesleyan movement. You have only to read the journal of John Wesley and compare it with the account of the manifestation at Pyeng Yang to realize that the phenomena are very closely akin. There is in both cases an extraordinary manifestation of power; people are convinced of their sins by another force than reason, and the power that convinces gives them strength not only to overcome sin but to convince others. The Koreans who were at the original meetings have gone forth, like Wesley's converts, their preaching has been wonderfully successful—so much so that there are not a few who say that it is through Korea that the light of Christianity will shine to the Far Eastern world."[40]

In 1908, when the Quadrennial General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church convened in Baltimore, Bishop M. C. Harris, the Methodist Missionary Bishop in Japan and Korea, declared that:

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38 For further description of the meetings, see G. S. McCune, "Opening Days at the Theological Seminary," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 3, No. 6 (June, 1907), p. 89.

39 G. T. Ladd, *In Korea with Marquis Ito*, p. 411.

40 In London *Times*, quoted in *K. M. F.*, Vol. 4, No. 5 (May, 1908), pp. 67, 68.

"The effects following this movement are wholly good: the church raised to a higher spiritual level, almost entire absence of fanaticism because of previous careful instruction in the Bible; not one case of insanity, but many thousands clothed in their right mind; scores of men called to the holy ministry; greater congregations searching the Word, as many as two thousand meeting in one place for the study of the Bible: many thousands learning to read, and making inquiries.... Drunkards, gamblers, thieves, adulterers, murderers, self-righteous Confucianists, and dead Buddhists, and thousands of devil-worshippers have been made new men in Christ, the old things gone forever."[41]

We could add many more testimonies, both by visitors and by missionaries, of the genuineness of the revival. The Rev. W. G. Cram of the Southern Methodist Mission says:

"This work has been genuine. There has been no false fire, nor do we believe there has been an attempt on the part of the missionaries to take confession of sins as an evidence of genuineness or a proof of the witness of the Holy Ghost to regenerate."[42]

The most convincing argument for the genuineness of the revival is in the result that followed. The great awakening marks the spiritual rebirth of the Korean Church. The religious experience of the people gave to the Christian Church in Korea a character which is its own. Following the revival, the new religious experience was severely tested, but it has survived as a moral and spiritual force. Korean Christians of today look back on the movement as the source of their spiritual life.

This great religious awakening, as we have already pointed out, was a spiritual movement. The results, therefore, were naturally spiritual, and spiritual achievement cannot be stated in figures. It is possible, however, to observe some of the sequels.

One of the most important sequels was the proof that the Christian religion had a hold on Korea and was not unadapted to the country. The revival seems to show that Christianity, when adapted to the Korean environment, meets the spiritual needs of the people. Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop,

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41 Journal of the 25th Delegated General Conference of the Methodist Church in 1908, pp. 861, 862.

42 W. G. Cram, "A Genuine Change," *K. M. F.*, Vol, 3, No. 5 (May, 1907), p. 68.

a noted world traveller, after having seen the Christian progress in Korea, said of the mission work at Pyeng Yang:

"It shows that the spirit of God still moves on the earth, and that the old truths of sin, judgment to come, of the Divine justice and love, of the atonement, and of the necessity for holiness, have the same power as in the Apostolic days to transform the lives of men."[43]

Another interesting result of the revival was a better understanding between Koreans and missionaries. Because of the difference of background, points of view, and mental outlook, it had been difficult for the two parties to understand and appreciate each others' lives. The missionaries generally took a superior attitude toward the Koreans and felt they were different from them. On the other hand, the Koreans believed the missionaries were not only their teachers but also superior in wisdom and spiritual capacity. Through the fire of the revival, the missionaries learned intimately the moral life of the converts, although it must be borne in mind that the confessions made did not so much reveal a low grade of Christian life in the church, as they showed the moral regeneration that was needed before the Koreans could become fully Christian. The Korean Christians also had the opportunity to see that even missionaries were not altogether saints.[44] A missionary made the following significant statement:

"Until this year [1907] I was more or less bound by that contemptible notion that the East is East and West, West and that there can be no real affinity or common meeting ground between them With others I had said the Korean would never have a religious experience such as the West has. These revivals have taught me two things: First, that though there may be a thousand things, on the surface, that are the direct opposite of the West, the Korean is at heart, and in all fundamental things, at one with his brother of the West.... In the second place these revivals have taught me, that in the matter of making all life religious, in prayer, and in a simple, childlike trust, the East not only has many things, but profound things, to teach the West, and until

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43 I. B. Bishop, "A Call from Korea," *Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 10, No. 5 (May, 1897), p. 364.

44 For example, Rev. —— —— —— of the Northern Presbyterian Mission could not remain in Korea as a missionary on account of the revelation by his Korean household servant of his moral character.

we learn these things we will not know the full-orbed Gospel of Christ."[45]

Out of this mutual sympathy and appreciation, then, there arose an added spirit of fellowship among the believers themselves and with the missionaries. They had shared the secrets of each others' lives, they had seen the evidences of change, and they had to maintain a united front against the ridicule of the non-Christian public. One manifestation of this close fellowship between the missionaries and Korean Christians will be seen in the discussion—a few paragraphs below—of the movements toward union.

Another effect of the revivals was a change of the moral tone of the Christian community. A missionary reported:

"We believe that the church has been purified by the confessions, strengthened by the conviction of sin, and raised to a higher place by the spirit of love which prevailed. The power of the Holy Spirit has made weak men strong and taught the faltering women a life of purity.... Wrongs were righted, stolen money returned, and for many it was a time of new birth in their religious life."[46]

Another missionary said:

"Looking back through the vista of the months which have intervened since the revival, certain results stand out conspicuously as being the outgrowth of that experience. One of these was the deepening among the Christians of the knowledge of righteousness and sin. The teaching of Christianity on those subjects is new to the Koreans, who, while not devoid of the sense of sin and righteousness, have standards different from those we hold. The revival brought upon the heart of the church a deep impression of the exceeding sinfulness of sin and of the everlasting obligations of righteousness.[47]

Still another result of the revival movement was the establishment of religious habits. As we have already noted, the genesis of the movement was in connection with conferences for Bible study and prayer among the missionaries, and the Pyeng Yang movement broke out during the time of the Presbyterian Men's Bible Training Class. From the beginning, Christian literature has had a large share in the Protestant propaganda in the peninsular kingdom. Now

45 J. Z. Moore, "The Great Revival Year," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 3, No. 8 (August, 1907), p. 118.
46 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1908, p. 302.
47 *Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 4, No. 5 (May 1908), p. 70.

Bible study acquired a chief place in the religious habits of the people. Along with Bible study went prayer. An American evangelist who made an extensive visit during the revival years reported the prayer life of the Korean Christians in the following words:

"The Koreans are praying for souls with an intense and simple faith which puts to shame those of us in Christian lands. Last winter during some revival meetings in Songdo, it was a common thing for Christians to go out on the hills after the evening meeting and kneel on the frozen ground while they cried to God for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. At Chai Ryung at 5:30 each morning several Koreans came to the house of the missionary with whom I was staying to spend an hour in prayer with him. At Pyeng Yang Pastor Kil and an elder were in the habit of meeting at the church for prayer at dawn each morning. Others heard of it and asked permission to meet with them, Mr. Kil announced that any who wished might pray with them for a few days at 4:30 A. M. The next morning people began gathering at 1 A. M.; at 2 A. M. a large number were present; and at 4:30 A. M. over 400 had assembled."[48]

The foregoing story has made it clear that the revival was a spiritual revivification of Christian believers rather than a movement to convert non-Christians. Preaching to the non-Christian was regarded as a Christian duty of church members. Revivals, however, were looked upon as seasons for raising the spiritual life and religious experience of the converted. In this regard, the revivals in Korea differ from similar movements either in America or in England. However, we must not lose sight of the close connection between a revival among Christians and a forward movement for winning others. When a Christian reached a new and hitherto unapprehended level of Christian experience, he at once became conscious of his duty as a Christian. The revival thus gave new impetus to preaching the new-found faith to others. Another effect of the revival, therefore, was widespread preaching, which resulted in a large ingathering of new converts. Revivalism and evangelism went hand in hand. In order to unite the efforts of all the Christians of a community and to secure the assistance of Christians in other

48 G. T. B. Davis in *The Missionary*, Vol. 43, No. 5 (May, 1910), pp. 212, 213.

communities in evangelistic efforts, revival meetings were connected with Bible training classes. The Bible study class provided an occasion, the revival an impetus and inner urge for the winning of souls, and evangelism the expression. There is no better illustration of this than occurred in Pyeng Yang in 1905. A report reads:

"When the meetings in connection with the New Year's city classes were once under way with house-to-house visitation, hundreds in the city were ready to reach a decision. The churches were soon filled with zealous Christians and interested inquirers, so that each night, after Scripture teaching and witness-bearing and confession from many Christians, there was an instant response from others. Each night from twenty to sixty men and women gave in their names, until in both churches over a 1,000 had decided."[49]

MOVEMENT TOWARD UNION

The close contact between the missionary groups and the Korean Christians during the years of preparation for the revival afforded new opportunities for close coöperation and correlation. In the last chapter we described the movement toward union in institutional work. Dr. Baird, discussing it, says:

"This talk also doubtless had its genesis partly in the fact that many of the missionary workers were that year (1905) brought into close and sympatetic intercourse in a summer Bible conference, at which they learned to know and appreciate each other at their true value, without thought of denominational distinctions."[50]

The growing spirit for union was strengthened by the rapid increase of the work in the North, and conscious efforts were put forth by far sighted missionaries. As the new faith spread, a question that confronted the thoughtful missionaries was how the evangelization of the country could be most effectively accomplished. Two plans were proposed: one was a division of territory among Protestant missions, as had already been done by the four Presbyterian groups; the other was union in institutional enterprises. In this section we shall relate the story of the development of these two movements.

49 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1906, p. 255

50 W. M. Baird, History of the Educational Work, Quarto Centennial Papers, read before the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (1909), p. 68.

We have had frequent occasion in these pages to observe the marked tendency of the missions in Korea toward union. In June, 1905, when the Northern Methodist Mission Conference was held at Seoul, the Superintendent invited missionaries of other denominations to be present at the sessions on education. It was natural for the Northern Methodist Mission to take this step, because the two branches of the Methodists had already united in school work, and the Methodist school was the only strong institution in the capital. This conference was addressed by Dr. Baird, of Pyeng Yang, who was an exponent for union work in education, and by many others. Although non-Methodists had been called to discuss educational work alone, many other union projects were proposed. Miss Mary Cutler, M. D., who had charge of the Methodist Women's Hospital, in spite of the fact that she had received money to erect a new hospital building, was willing that the plant unite with the Presbyterian Hospital. Miss Mary R. Hilman, who had charge of the Methodist Girls' School, proposed union with the Presbyterian mission, the latter having received money to build a girls' school. Not only did these ladies champion the cause; the men also enthusiastically supported union and discussed union evangelistic work and theological instruction. Hope for union was so high that the Methodist Conference appointed a committee to confer with a similar committee to be appointed by the Presbyterians.[51]

Enthusiasm ran so high that, when the two groups met again on June 26 at the home of D. A. Bunker, nearly all the missionaries in Seoul were in attendance. The group, indeed, became a mass meeting which was presided over by Bishop M. C. Harris. The official minutes of the Korea Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church reported :

"Mr. W. D. Reynolds (Southern Presbyterian) moved that it be the sense of this informal gathering of missionaries that the time is ripe for the establishment of one Korean National Church, to be called the 'Church of Christ in Korea.' This was seconded by Dr. O. R. Avison

51 S. F. Moore, "An Epoch-Making Conference, in Korea," *The Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 18, No. 9 (September, 1905), pp. 689-692.

and unanimously carried by a rising vote. It was moved by S. A. Beck that it is the sense of the meeting that the forces of Protestant Christianity should unite in Educational Work in Korea, and after hearty discussion the motion was carried."[52]

Motion after motion was made and carried with unanimous vote for uniting educational, evangelistic, and medical work; a union hymnal was proposed and joint editorship of one church paper. One of the most significant motions was that of Dr. W. B. Scranton by which power was given to the joint committee of the two bodies "to expedite the formation of a council of Protestant Missions"[53] at the time of the next meeting of the Presbyterian Council.

In September, 1905, when the Council of the Presbyterian Missions met in Seoul, the Seoul Presbyterian Committee presented an overture recommending union work with the Methodists in every department of the mission enterprise. The Presbyterian Council adopted the following report from the committee to which the overture on union had been referred. The Committee recommended:

"First. That this council [the Presbyterian] approves of the formation of a council of all evangelical missions in Korea, with advisory powers only, and such other powers as the various missions may delegate to it from time to time.

"Second. That when all the missions represented in the Presbyterian Council shall indicate to it their desire that the Evangelical Council shall exercise any power previously delegated to this body, the Presbyterian Council shall transfer said power from itself to the Evangelical Council.

"Third. That until the Council of Evangelical Missions is ready to form one Evangelical Council in Korea, the Council of Missions, while seeking in every way to encourage and facilitate union, proceed with the organization of the Independent Presbyterian Church of Korea, in accordance with the previously established principles.

"Fourth. That this council instruct the Hymn-book committee to confer with the Methodist Hymn-book Committee, granting to its committee to act with the others in preparing and publishing a common hymn-book."[54]

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52 Official Minutes of the Korea Mission Conference, 1905, pp. 20, 21.
53 *Ibid.*
54 S. F. Moore, "Steps toward Missionary Union in Korea," *The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S., Vol. 18, No. 12 (December, 1905), pp. 903-905.

As a consequence of the action taken by the Presbyterian Council and the Methodist Mission, on September 15, 1905, in the presence of about one hundred and fifty missionaries representing six missions, the General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea was constituted. Article Two of the constitution of the new body reads : "The aim of this council shall be co-operation in Christian work, and eventually the organization of one Evangelical Church in Korea."[55] The third article provided that the power of the organization was to be "advisory and such other powers as may be delegated to it by the missions."[56] All male members of the Evangelical Missions were entitled to membership, but only ordained men had a vote on "matters pertaining to church organization and government."[57] An executive committee consisting of one representative from each of the six missions was appointed to act *ad interim* on any question of coöperation or dispute submitted by the missions. The committee was also entrusted with the question of division of territory. All other union projects were placed under the jurisdiction of the Council. H. G. Underwood was the first chairman and D. A. Bunker was made secretary and treasurer. The organization of the Evangelical Council seemed to be a logical step toward church union.

The General Council initiated many union projects. In the early days of the organization, to the boys' schools both in Pyeng Yang and in Seoul were united. Medical work in the latter city also became largely a union undertaking. Publication of Sunday school literature, the hymn book, the *Korea Mission Field*, the organ of the Council, and a church paper were undertaken.[58]

Besides these, the combining of the girls' schools in Seoul was freely discussed although never actually accomplished. Union in medical work was also agitated, but

55 S. F. Moore, "Steps toward Missionary Union in Korea." *The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S. Vol. 18, No. 12 (December 1905), pp. 903-905.
56 *Ibid.*
57 *Ibid.*
58 W. B. Harrison, "The Union Movement in Korea," *The Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 2, No. 11 (September, 1906), p. 201.

the Methodist Women's Hospital at the East Gate was soon erected.[59] The General Council itself, without accomplishing the declared aim of establishing one evangelical Christian Church in Korea, was in 1912 changed into a federal council. The causes of this decline from the early enthusiasm may be attributed to the success of mission work. As the churches grew, each mission reinforced its work and established its own necessary institutions at central points. Furthermore, along with the rising nationalism of the Koreans there grew a *esprit de corps* among the Korean Christians who adhered to the religious custom of their own denominations. Thus the larger the Church grew, the more difficult union became.

THE DIVISION OF TERRITORY

One of the great achievements of the General Council was the division of territory among the missions. As we have already noted, the movement was initiated among the Presbyterian denominations, and the four Presbyterian groups settled the question in such a manner that there was no dispute or overlapping. We have also noted that the Southern Methodists had concentrated their work in West Korea. The first definite territorial division between the Presbyterian and Methodist bodies took place between the Northern Presbyterians and Northern Methodists in North Pyeng An province in 1905. The counties Tai Chun, Heui Chun, Yengben, and a half of Pak Chun in North Pyeng An province were transferred to the Northern Methodists, while the rest of the province was placed under the jurisdiction of the Northern Presbyterians.[60] When the General Council was organized, the movement received new impetus. In 1906 mission boundaries in South Pyeng An province were demarcated between the Northern Methodist and Presbyterian missions. In the following year an arrangement was made between the Southern Methodist and Northern Presbyterian missions whereby the former received the northern two-

59 Minutes of the Korea Annual Conference for 1909, p. 39.
60 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1906, p. 270.

thirds of Kang Won province and all the Presbyterian work to the north of Seoul, and the latter the southern one-third of Kang Won province and groups of Southern Methodist converts to the east and the west of Seoul.[61]

In 1908 the Southern Methodist and Canadian Presbyterian missions entered into a territorial adjustment whereby the former ceded the territory south of Wonsan to the latter, giving the Southern Methodists a solid block from Seoul to Songdo and Wonsan, and to the Canadians the rest of the two Ham Kyeng provinces.[62] In the south, the Northern Presbyterians, Northern Methodists, and Southern Presbyterians entered into an agreement which gave North Chung Chyong province to the Northern Presbyterians, South Chung Chyong province to the Northern Methodists, and the two Chun-la provinces to the Southern Presbyterians.[63] In the southeast, the Northern Presbyterian mission held the entire two Kyeng Sang provinces except strips of territory southeast and southwest of the South Kyeng Sang province which were given to the Australian mission.[64]

The division of territory was not an apportionment of unoccupied sections of the country alone, but an adjustment of districts where churches and groups already existed. Transfer of church membership and exchange of property were unavoidable. These, however, were accomplished without much difficulty except in one or two localities.[65] The division of territory placed on each mission the responsibility for evangelizing a definite area; thus speedy evangelization and intense training of Christians were made possible. The division also removed all causes for friction and avoided overlapping and duplication. It further created a sense of responsibility and *esprit de corps* within the Korean Church. The further goal of a single Christian Church for all Korea was not, however, attained.

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61 N. P. Report for 1909, p. 270.
62 Report of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Canada for 1909, p. 42.
63 M. E. North Report for 1910, p. 178.
64 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1908, p. 280.
65 Methodist Episcopal North Report for 1910, p. 178.

"THE MILLION MOVEMENT"

The great religious awakening intensified the passion of the people for winning others to the new faith. The Christian missions were now organized for close union and co-operation. The logical outcome of these steps was a wide evangelistic movement. The nation-wide effort for a speedy evangelization of the country which was launched in 1909-1910 is known as "The Million Movement." In 1909 three young missionaries of the Southern Methodist mission at Songdo felt the lack of power in their evangelistic work and believed that in their community, the spirit of the great awakening of 1907 had begun to wane. They resolved to devote a period to Bible study and prayer, and for that purpose went to a mountainside with a few Korean converts and spent a week in prayer. One of the company, the Rev. M. B. Stokes, soon went on an itinerating tour and asked his people to pray for the conversion of fifty thousand during the ensuing year. Through the influence of the three, when the Annual Meeting of the Southern Methodist Mission was held in September, 1909, a watchword of "Two Hundred Thousand Souls for Christ"[66] was adopted. Following the Annual Meeting, the General Council of the Evangelical Missions convened in Seoul. At the meeting of the Council, one of the three, Dr. W. T. Reid, a son of the founder of the Southern Methodist Mission in Korea, arose and moved the adoption of a watchword for the year for the entire evangelical constituency in Korea. The motion was referred to a committee, of which Dr. Reid was the chairman. The report of the body was the slogan: "A million souls for Christ." And this was adopted by the Council.[67]

The watchword was a bold one. When it was adopted there were enrolled in all the Protestant churches only eight thousand, including catechumens. Missionaries, however,

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66 M. E. South Report for 1909, p. 87; G. T. B. Davis, *Korea for Christ*, pp. 6, 7.

67 "A Bold Watchword for Korea," *The Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (April, 1910), p. 242.

estimated that there were about two hundred thousand who were leading Christian lives.[68] The entire missionary force numbered about two hundred. The attempt to convert one million in a year was certainly more than the resources seemed to warrant. Again, it was an unusual action for a religious body to adopt a goal for a spiritual movement. The missionaries, however, believed it to be a psychological moment for launching a nation-wide campaign for the evangelization of the country. Dr. J. S. Gale wrote :

"The great movement calls for special effort in Korea. Its watchword of 'A Million Souls' rings out at a time of supreme national hopelessness. Wrecked and humiliated through her own failures, incapable of self-defense or self-government, she had fallen to a place of contempt among all nations. Authority no longer rests with her, finances are out of her control, the world of graft and fraud in which she lived has been spirited away, and today stripped and convicted and undone, she looks for a savior. This is the supreme moment. We cannot reckon on the future or foretell. Now is the moment, and it is here : the wide open door, the humbled people, the waiting heart... The missionaries are convinced that NOW is the hour of crisis for Korea."[69]

Three hours after the adoption of the watchword by the General Council, Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman, Mr. Charles M, Alexander, and their party of evangelistic preachers arrived in Seoul,[70] These well-known revivalists were then on a tour in the Orient to hold evangelistic meetings and at once joined their efforts to the Million Movement. Dr. Chapman and Mr. Alexander conducted evangelistic meetings for missionaries for five days and sent them to their stations for the inauguration of the campaign. The party soon left the country, but one of the number, Mr. George T. B. Davis, was requested to stay in Korea to assist. When the annual Winter General Bible Training Classes met at different mission stations, the campaign was launched with vigor and determination, The whole evangelical Christian constituency in Korea joined in the movement and prosecuted it

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68 "A Bold Watchword for Korea," *The Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (April, 1910), p. 242.
69 *The Missionary*. Vol. 43, No. 5 (May, 1910), p. 213.
70 G. T. B. Davis, *Korea for Christ*, pp. 7-11.

with its new-found religious zeal and ardor. The campaign gave self-contained people self-expression. It was the first national undertaking of the Korean people in religious propaganda. Young and old, men and women, students, laity, and all Christian workers made strenuous efforts to make the watchword a reality.

In order to show the magnitude of the movement, we shall refer to two conspicuous methods adopted by the Korean Christians. First of all was the custom of contributing days for evangelistic work. The Korean peasants could not afford to give money to employ evangelists. Neither were there many evangelists. Consequently they pledged their own time to preaching. The other method was the distribution of Christian literature, especially portions of the Gospels. *The Korea Mission Field* gives the following summary of the extent of these two methods :

"Poor and hard-working Koreans were inspired to give at least 100,000 days of work in all, for 76,000 days of earnest personal work were done last winter, and this fall several hundreds of native workers gave a whole month to special service, going from house, to house as well as dealing with men personally in great meetings. Many millions of tracts and 700,000 gospels of Mark were purchased by native Christians and given to unbelievers with prayer and ea rnest persuasion ; nearly every home in Korea has been visited and daily prayer has been offered for this by thousands of Koreans."[71]

In spite of the efforts made for the success of the undertaking, when the year closed the million were not gathered. A great many conversions were made, but while the actual figures are wanting, it is clear that as far as enrolling a million people in the Church was concerned, the movement had fallen short of success. However, the missionaries were not discouraged. Dr. W. M. Baird of Pyeng Yang said :

"The whole church entered into the campaign with faith and unparalleled enthusiasm. The Gospel was preached as never before, all over Korea. We do not know how many were saved, but we do know that a great multitude have been persuaded to enter the churches and express a desire to believe. Personally, I belie ve that when all is

71 "The Million Movement and Its Results." *K. M. F.*, Vol 7, No. 1 (January, 1911), p. 5,

known, more than a million souls will be found to date their interest in the kingdom from this Million Year."[72]

Furthermore, Dr. Baird believes that the absorption of interest in the campaign maintained peace and order during the trying year of the annexation of the country. It also increased the evangelistic zeal of the people and established that as a tradition of the Church for generations to come. It also added to the capacity of giving for the Christian cause.[73]

CHURCH ORGANIZATION

It will be recalled that the Northern Methodist Mission was organized into a Mission Conference and was placed under the episcopal jurisdiction of Bishop M. C. Harris of Japan. When it was organized, there were only three Presiding Elders' Districts, but by 1906 the districts had increased to five. When the Mission Conference met in March, 1908, action was taken to reorganize it into an Annual Conference of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[74] At the same gathering, the Committee on Memorials petitioned the General Conference to locate the Episcopal residence in Seoul.[75] In spite of the petition and the fact that the Methodist Christian constituency in Korea was larger than that in Japan, Bishop Harris never established a permanent residence in Korea. The petition we have referred to stated that the church had a membership of 45,000, including regular members and inquirers. The Southern Methodist mission was one Presiding Elder's district until 1909, when it was divided into three districts, each with a superintendent. The annual meeting of the mission in 1910 reported a total membership of 6,035.[76]

The four Presbyterian missions working in Korea had early organized a Presbyterian Council for conference and

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72 W. M. Baird, "An Address to the Presby. Mission on the Million Movement." *K. M. F.* Vol. 7, No. 11 (November, 1911), p. 210
73 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1909, p. 293,
74 Official Minutes of Korea Annual Conference 1908, p. 17.
75 Official Minutes of Korea Annual Conference (1908), p. 22.
66 M. E. Church South Report for 1711, p. 114.

advice on questions of common interest, and above all for the purpose of establishing one Korean Presbyterian Church. In regard to ecclesiastical matters, every missionary in the Council voluntarily surrendered to the body his power to examine candidates, to administer sacraments, and to exercise discipline. The Council, in the early days when there were no Korean Presbyters to sit with the missionary pastors, appointed three or more of its own members as sessional committees in different sections of the country to perform these functions. The Council was the highest court of the Presbyterian Mission in Korea.[77] In the year 1901 it established a Union Theological Seminary which instructed the future Korean ministers, and in 1907 the first class of seven was ready for ordination. According to the Presbyterian form of government, however, a Presbytery alone can ordain a minister. Under this rule the ordination of the Korean ministers could be accomplished either by the setting up of a Presbytery in Korea or by ordaining them as members of Presbyteries of the parent churches at the home base. The church authorities in the home lands soon gave permission to organize a Korean Presbytery and gave leave to their ordained missionaries to become members of this Presbytery while retaining their status in similar bodies at home.

Looking toward the organization of the Presbytery, the Presbyterian Council made the necessary preparations. It had already provided a moderator, committees on program, on confession of faith, and on form of government.[78] On September 17, 1907, thirty-three foreign missionaries and thirty-six Korean elders assembled at the Central Church of Pyeng Yang and constituted the Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church of Korea. The Rev. Samuel A. Moffett, by virtue of being the moderator of the Presbyterian Council, became the moderator of the Presbytery.[79] The new ecclesiastical body ordained the first seven theological graduates.

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77 C. A. Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Korea*, pp. 6-30.
78 C. A. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-30.
79 W. D. Reynolds, "The Presbytery of Korea," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 3, No. 11 (November, 1907), pp. 102-104.

Thus under the jurisdiction of the Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in Korea there were seven Korean ministers, 53 elders, 989 congregations, 19,000 communicants, and 70,000 believers.[80]

Strictly speaking, the acts of the Presbytery come under the scope of the history of the Christian Church in Korea and not under that of missions. It is interesting, however, to note the contents of the confession of faith that the new church adopted at its first session. The confession was borrowed from the Presbyterian Church of India, with the exception of the preamble. The preamble confirmed "the doctrinal standards of the parent churches which established the church in Korea...epecially the Westminster Confession of faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms as worthy exponents of the Word of God"[81] The new church also adopted the Westminster Shorter Catechism. The Confession itself consisted of twelve articles of strong Calvinistic trend. It affirmed the sovereignty of God, the deity, the virgin birth, and the substitutionary atonement of Christ, the double procession of the Holy Spirit, the predestination of men, the irresistibility of grace, a belief in sacraments, bodily resurrection, and the final judgment. By adopting this Confession, a formula of belief was legislated for the people and given them in a finished form without waiting for an expression of growing Christian experience. No confesssion of faith has yet been written by a Korean for the Korean Church.

Another eventful step undertaken by the first Presbytery was the launching of a missionary enterprise outside of the Korean Peninsula. Yi Keui Poong, one of the seven ordained ministers, volunteered to go to the island of Quelpart, about sixty miles off the southern coast of the mainland, as the first Protestant missionary. The Presbytery accepted his offer and appointed a missionary committee to administer the undertaking and ordered the whole church to make a special offering to carry on the propagation of the faith. This

80 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1908, p. 271.
81 For the full text of the Confession of Faith, see C. A. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-58.

missionary movement gradually won the support of the Christian constituency, so that in 1909 the Presbytery sent Rev. Choi Kwan Heul to the Koreans in Siberia, Han Syek Chin to the Korean students in Tokyo, and Pang Wha Chung to Korean emigrants in California and Mexico.[82]

With regard to government, the Presbytery adopted the Presbyterian form, which provides three courts ; an individual church is governed by the session, which is composed of the minister and the elders elected by the members of the church; the Presbytery is a higher court composed of the ministers and elders from sessions within a defined district ; while the General Assembly, the highest court in the Presbyterian Church, is composed of ministers and elders elected by the Presbytery.[83] When there was only one Presbytery in the entire country, as was the case under the régime of the Presbyterian Council, the churches in the different sections were governed by Presbyterial Committees appointed by the Presbytery. The power of the Presbyterial Committee was that of a Presbytery *ad interim.* With regard to the relationship of the foreign missionaries to the Korean Church, the form of government provides that :

"Ordained foreign missionaries working in connection with the Presbyterian Church of Korea shall be members of the Presbytery and of the General Assembly, but, in respect to discipline and appointment by the parent Churches and their Missions, shall remain under the parent Churches by whom they were commissioned. Their connection as full members shall cease when by a two-thirds vote of their number, they think it wise to withdraw, at which time the Supreme Court shall determine their relation to it as may seem best."[84]

One of the interesting features connected with the organization of the Korean Presbyterian Church was the introduction of American usages and customs. The first property that the Presbytery owned was a gavel which was to be handed down from moderator to moderator in succeeding years as the badge of honor and authority.[85] After some

82 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1910, p.
83 For the full account of the Form of Government, see C. A. Clark, Northern Presbyterian Report for 1910, pp. 59-64
84 *Ibid.*, p. 61.
85 *Ibid.*, p 32.

search for a suitable date, a Thanksgiving day was also inaugurated in the Korean Presbyterian Church. Once it was even decided to place it on the last Thursday in November,[86] though at last the Wednesday following the third Sunday in November was set apart for the purpose. The significance attached to it was "the date of the arrival in Korea of the first missionary."[87] However, we do not know who that "first missionary" was.

EDUCATIONAL WORK

Another movement of equal magnitude with the religious revival was the literary or educational revolution. The people began to feel that the future of the nation depended on the education of the younger generation. A missionary stationed in Northern Korea reported the situation in the following words :

"We are in the midst of an educational revolution. Schools spring up in a night, heathen and Christian. The governor starts schools ; the magistrates start schools ; the Myun [a subdivision of a magistracy] officials start schools and the villages start schools. Seven school boards lay hold of the flowing coat tails of one poor teacher. Salaries have gone up, and the Pyeng Yang graduate is the man of the hour....It has been interesting to see how the school ideals have changed, and how the demand for up-to-date teachers has made old Confucian schools lose their proud seats, giving place to those who know both Chinese and the Western sciences."[88]

This educational movement profoundly affected the schools under the auspices of the Christian Church. The old village schools had gone out of existence. The only available educational institutions were those maintained by the churches. In fact, the Church possessed almost the only educational system of the country, from the primary to the college and professional school. The leadership and influence of these institutions were so strong that non-Christians often sent their children to them for education. The problems that Christian missions faced were well outlined by Mr. C. G.

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87 C. A. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
88 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1909, p. 270.
86 *Ibid*, p. 83.

Hounshell of the Southern Methodist mission, who was then engaged in educational work. Mr. Hounshell wrote that the problems were, what kind of education Koreans should have in the light of their need, the question of the responsibility for that education under the existing circumstances, and the methods of accomplishing these ends.[89]

These questions were momentous. Mr. Hounshell believed that Korea needed "an education that will save her young men; an education that will purify and strengthen the will, inspire the heart, and teach them how to do things."[90] Therefore he agreed with Baron T. H. Yun of the same mission that Korea's need was industrial education. As to the responsibility for providing that education, it was clearly the duty of the missionary agencies; the Korean government was impotent, the incoming Japanese were too busy in organizing their government and occupying the country, and the Koreans themselves were not yet ready to undertake the enterprise. If the Christian mission was going to give education to the Korean youth at all, industrial education was an essential feature. As to the method of bringing it about, close cooperation among the several mission boards and private support both from Koreans and friends of Korea in other countries were necessary. This undoubtedly was the demand and need of the Korean people, and missionaries could have agreed in principle to proposals of this sort. This worthy suggestion, however, did not receive its deserved support.

The plan for an industrial school for the Methodist mission was older than the mission itself, for it was the hope and expectation of Baron T. H. Yun that such an institution would be founded, and he entrusted his former college president with a sum of money for the purpose even before the Church began considering Korea. When the Mission did enter the land, Baron Yun and his father donated one

89 C. G. Hounshell, "Christian Education for Korea," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (February, 1906), pp. 71-73.
90 *Ibid.*, p. 71.

thousand dollars to it for the establishment of an industrial school in Songdo.[91] As we have seen, however, the Southern Methodist Church united in its educational work with the Northern Church in Seoul. Soon after the establishment of the Japanese protectorate, the Southern Methodist Mission changed the policy of its founder, Dr. C. F. Reid, who, as we recall, advocated concentration on evangelical work rather than on institutional undertakings. In 1907, Rev. W. G. Cram, the superintendent of the mission,[92] declared that "a liberal policy, coupled with an adoption of the best methods of institutional work looking to a betterment of the social and economic condition, as well as the spiritual improvement to the life, should not be foreign to our purpose."[93] The awakening interest in industrial education and the desire to find an entering wedge to conservative Songdo led the mission to adopt the principle of concentrating its institutional work at that center. In the meantime the retirement of Baron Yun from government service made the situation favorable for the opening of the boys' school. In the fall of 1906, with fourteen students, the Anglo-Korean School was opened at Songdo with the Hon. T. H. Yun as principal.[94]

The school was begun without an adequate building or a definite program. Yun stated[95] that his plan for the first two years was to learn the character and needs of the constituency and the ability and resources of the mission to meet them. From the very beginning an industrial program was the strong feature of the school. In his first report to the mission Yun outlined a clear-cut and very constructive policy:

"We must remember that the industrial training is more useful to a Korean today than mere literary education. To be able to read a play in Shakespeare would be a good thing; but to know how to raise a patch of strawberries would be better, though one may do both. But if our boys have to choose one of the two, let them take the strawberries. Shakespeare can wait, but the land, under our present regime,

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91 Methodist Episcopal South Report for 1904, p. 45.
92 Cf. Methodist Episcopal South Report for 1903, p. 48.
93 W. G. Cram, "Songdo North Circuit," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 4, No, 9 (Sept. 1907), p. 141.
94 T. H. Yun, "The Anglo-Korean School, Songdo," *K. M. F.*, p. 142.
95 *Ibid.*, p. 144.

may be sei zed, by the military necessity that knows no law and laws that have no necessity. In selecting the kinds of industry, we ought to keep in mind the following considerations:

1. We must teach the boys what they can practice on leaving the school, with the least outlay of money and time.
2. The materials to work on and the implements to work with should be so simple that they can be obtained in Korea or in the neigboring states.
3. The industry should be of such nature as to bring a prompt and reasonably profitable return for the time and money given to it."[96]

This policy of industrial education is significant not only because it reveals the need of the Korean people as one of the most enlightened leaders saw it, but also because it was the first conscious effort made in a mission school to give industrial education to the Korean youth as an end in itself. There had been, to be sure, industrial departments in connection with other schools, but the aim had been not to teach a trade but to aid in the training of Christian ministers. Dr. A. J. Brown, reporting the educational program of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, said:

"Secular inducements such as the teaching of English, teaching of trade or professions which would open up the prospects of tempting worldly positions, have not been offered."[97]

In the light of this statement, it is easy to understand why the so-called industrial work of the Presbyterian schools was not lifted from the level of the unskilled labor of the Korean coolie, such as making straw ropes and straw shoes.

The school at Songdo grew rapidly without going through the experience of the schools in Seoul. In 1908 there was reported an enrollment of 225.[98] In that year the school was graded into three departments, a high school course covering four years, a primary department, and a sub-primary class.[99] A new school building of stone was erected in that year and Rev. A. W. Wasson was added to the faculty.[100] The con-

96 T. H. Yun, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
97 A. J. Brown, *Report of a Visitation of the Korea Mission* (1901), p. 21.
98 M. E. South Report for 1909, p. 45.
99 *Ibid.* for 1910, p. 96.
100 *Ibid.*, p. 97.

nection of Mr. Yun with the school made it conspicuous throughout the country and drew a large number of students. In 1910 there were 329 in the student body, of whom 54 were high school students.[101] Mr. Yun continued to serve the school until the autumn of 1911, when he was imprisoned in connection with the so-called "Conspiracy Case." Experiments along the industrial line were many. An industrial shop under the direction of Professor J. A. Thomson was opened in 1908, offering carpentry and mechanical work. A farm was also tried, but without success.[102] Normal classes and night schools was also held.[103] Throughout the period of our survey, the school did not lose the vision of its founders. In the official report of the mission for 1911 the purpose was reaffirmed as follows:

> "There are....two functions which our schools of higher grade must meet. The Board of Missions, representing the church at home, puts money and life into these schools and expects in return trained and consecrated leadership for the native church. And the other function grows out of our general interest in the economic uplift of the people, and particularly out of the fact that native support of churches and primary schools, which we are asking the people more and more to undertake, demands better and more certain returns for their daily labor.[104]

The school, it is well to note, to this day maintains its original character.

The Northern Presbyterian Mission adopted the policy of establishing an academy at each station.[105] There were, however, actually in operation during this period only four academies under the Mission. The oldest was a union institution in Pyeng Yang. With the one exception of a "student strike" in 1908[106] on account of the discontent over the curriculum and denominational differences, the school prospered through-

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101 *Ibid.* for 1911, p. 110.
102 *Ibid.* for 1909, p. 46.
103 *Ibid.*
104 M. E. South Report for 1911, p. 109.
105 A. J. Brown, *Report of the Visitation of the Korean Mission* (1901), p. 20.
106 M. E. North Report for 1908, p. 389.

out these years. The increase is shown in the following table:

	1907	1908	1909	1910
Number of students	367	422	366	498
Number of gratuates	27	21	33	22

The second secondary school, leaving out of consideration the orphanage and the "Jesus' Doctrine," was the John D. Wells Training School for Christian Workers at Seoul. After two years of union work with the two Methodist missions during the years 1905-1907, the school was placed under the charge of Mr. E. H. Miller and kept to its original purpose of "the training of Christian young men alone, not for the gathering in of anybody and everybody."[107] As the period of our consideration ends, we read in the report that the school year 1909-1910 was opened with 152 students but that they soon "rebelled against the faculty" and that it took several weeks to restore order, the school beginning again with about fifty students."[108]

The Academy for Boys at Taiku was organized by Dr. J. E. Adams to give further instruction to the graduates of the primary schools.[109] In the beginning there were twenty-seven and in the following year there were sixty. Due to a lack of teaching force the advanced class was dismissed from school in the spring of 1908. In that year a new school building was erected with the gift of the relatives of Mr. Adams.[110] Up to the year 1910 no class was graduated and the student body was very small, numbering only about forty.[111]

The last of the academies under the Northern Presbyterian Mission was that at Syen Chyun. In 1906 the Christians in Syen Chyun organized a secondary school with a handful of the graduates of the primary schools and other advanced students, using an old church building. Mr. N. C. Whittemore was put in nominal charge, but as far as finance and

107 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1909, p. 277.
108 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1911, p. 276.
109 *Ibid.* for 1907, p. 275.
110 *Ibid.* for 1909, p. 296.
111 *Ibid.* for 1911, p. 282.

teaching were concerned the institution was entirely a Korean undertaking. The school became a mission institution in 1907, when the mission secured for it a donation of fifteen thousand dollars from Mrs. Hugh O'Neil, of New York. A new building was erected in the following year, and the school was named the Hugh O'Neil Junior Academy, in memory of the donor's son. In 1909 the Northern Presbyterian Mission sent Mr. and Mrs. G. S. McCune to take charge. When the mission took the reponsibility for the school, the mission station declared that, though it was believed the Korean Christians could finance the institution, the action of taking it over was justified, for a better control of the educational situation in the North would be assured and education would be provided for the poorer students.[112] Under the efficient leadership of Mr. G. S. McCune and Dr. A. M Sharrocks, both of them Park College graduates, the Park College plan of industrial shops and farms was almost duplicated. In 1909 a suitable dormitory system was put in operation and made rapid and substantial progress. At the time of annexation, the school was highly prosperous and exerted tremendous influence over the growing Christian constituency in the North.

There were other secondary schools and academies under Korean control, but we cannot go into a description of them here.

Comment must be made on the "student strikes" and "rebellions" recorded in mission reports. It is interesting to note that in many cases the cause or the supposed cause of the student's action was not given. The causes largely centered on the school curriculum. On account of the lack of text-books and of the desire of the missionaries to make Christian leaders, the school curriculums were heavily weighted with Biblical subjects. Moreover, missionaries who taught these subjects taught in a Korean which was at times almost unintelligible to some students. These missionaries also adopted the old Korean memory system. Racial

112 *Ibid.* N. P. Report for 1908, p. 802.

contempt was another cause. It was often easy for those who had a "superiority complex" to hurt the sensitive feelings of young students in unguarded moments. Again, at times the missionaries, not knowing the customs and language of the people, trusted certain ones of their assistants too much. This often resulted in unfair dealing and created jealousy and misunderstanding. There were many other causes which were due to ignorance of school management and policy on the part of the students. They at times made most unreasonable "demands" such as new school buildings, new equipment, and the dismissal of unpopular teachers.

The educational work of the Northern Methodist Mission centered at Seoul. The Pai Chai Haktang or the Methodist Boys' School had another complete change during the period. It will be recalled that when the two Methodist missions united in educational work, they eliminated courses in English and taught in the vernacular. However, when, in 1907, because of the desire of the Southern Methodists to concentrate their institutional work at Songdo, the union was dissolved, Pai Chai Haktang returned to its original location and made English the medium of instruction.[113] When the school changed its character a large number of students flocked to it.[114] At Pai Chai too, however, there occurred a student strike.[115] The first class was graduated in 1909 and in the following year a college class was added.[116]

The secondary educational work of other missions was still meager. The Southern Presbyterian Mission started an academy at Mokpo in 1909,[117] and the Canadian Mission in the spring of 1908 opened an academy at Song Chin.[118] By the end of the period covered by this chapter, however, neither of these had developed to the magnitude of the schools in the Northwest.

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113 M. E. North Report for 1908, p. 381
114 *Ibid.* for 1909, p. 178.
115 *Ibid.*
116 *Ibid.* for 1910, p. 177.
117 *The Missinary*, Vol. 42, No 5, p. 254.
118 Foreign Missionary Report of the Presbyterian Church in Canada for 1909, p. 49.

Much effort was put forth by the Korean Christians for the education of girls. Schools for girls ran parallel with the schools for boys. Due to the separation of the sexes, it was necessary to open schools in pairs at every mission station. In Seoul, the oldest and the best equipped was the Ewha Haktang, the Northern Methodist School for Girls.[119] The Carolina Institute of the Southern Methodist Mission was carried on under the supervision of Mrs. S. P. Campbell, but no report for these years is available. There were four academies for girls under the Northern Presbyterian Mission, the oldest being in Seoul. In the years when enthusiasm for union ran high, the consolidation of the school with those of the two Methodist missions was freely discussed but was not consummated. During the years 1907—1908 a new school building was erected and the institution took on "a new lease of life." The industrial department was dropped and the school assumed the name of the Women's Academy.[120] The girls' academy at Pyeng Yang, opened in 1905, was a union institution of the Northern Presbyterians and the Northern Methodists. It had no school buiding during these years ; instruction was carried on in an old hospital until 1910, when a school building was erected.[121] The third one was at Syen Chyun, which was started in 1907 with Miss Louise Chase in charge, but it had neither building nor adequate equipment.[122] The fourth girls' school was at Fusan. The early efforts of Mrs. Bertha K. Irvin to teach girls now reached the stage of a girls' Model Training School. Gifts from Mr. L. H. Severance and Mr. D. B. Gamble made it possible to erect a school building which in 1909 was "the best equipped girls' school building" of the Presbyterian Mission in Korea.[123]

In spite of the development of schools throughout the

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119 The Annual Meeting of M. E. Mission, *K. M. F.*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (March, 1908), p. 36.
120 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1900, p. 279.
121 *Ibid.* for 1911, p. 280.
122 *Ibid.* for 1908, p. 303.
123 A. J. Brown, *Report on a Second Visit to China, Japan, and Korea* (1909), p. 190.

country and of the fact that the missions had the control of the educational situation of the land, there was only one college of liberal arts, that at Pyeng Yang. During these years the Christian constituency in the country gave financial support to the school,[124] and the increasing number of academies supplied the students. In 1907 the Methodist and Presbyterian Missions "adopted an agreement which looks forward to the permanent union....in one college."[125] In 1908 the college gave diplomas to the first two graduates, but the enrollment was still small. By 1910 there were fifty-four students in attendance and seven was the total number of students graudated. In the meantime the question of the location of the college was in dispute. Some favored Seoul because of its central position, while others believed the prevailing Christian atmosphere made Pyeng Yang better. As it was, the college was patronized largely by the students from the northern provinces.[126]

Another higher educatonal instiution that should be mentioned is the foreshadowing of the Severance Medical College. In the last chapter we described the training of physicians by the process of making them hospital assistants. These students completed the prescribed courses and attained such skill that in June, 1908, the first class of seven was graduated with the title of Doctors of Medicine and Surgery. In the meantime these first graduates also received government recognition and a license to practice medicine. This event inaugurated a new era in the medical practice of the country.[127]

We have already referred to the beginning of the training of Korean nurses by both the Methodist and the Presbyterian Missions at Seoul. In 1907 Miss E. L. Shields and Miss M. J. Edmunds united their efforts, cooperating in class work, lectures, operating-room work, and bedside instruction; but

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124 North. Presbyterian Report for 1907, p. 268.
125 *Ibid.* for 1908, p. 289.
126 *Ibid.* for 1908. p. 289.
127 For the complete details of the graduation exercises, see *K. M. F.* for June and August, 1908.

the finances and the services of the nurses were kept separately in their respective hospitals, namely the Methodist Women's Hospital and the Severance Hospital.[128] In the same year, with appropriate ceremony, two Korean nurses were capped upon the completion of their training.[129] A similar exercise was repeated in June of the following year, when five trained Korean nurses received their uniforms and caps.[130] Thus was opened up to Korean women a hitherto unknown life career.

THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS

In the Presbyterian mission, the instruction of the laity was continued in Bible training classes and Bible institutes by the means that have been described, but the training of ministers was concentrated in the Union Theological Seminary at Pyeng Yang. The first of the two outstanding events in the history of the theological seminary was the graduation of the first class in 1907, when seven elders and helpers, who had been under training, completed the prescribed course of three months a year for five years. Those men were soon ordained into the Presbyterian ministry and called to serve churches as pastors, missionaries, and evangelists. The other event of the school was the erection of the first building with the gift of Mrs. Cyrus McCormick, of Chicago. The cornerstone was laid on May 19, 1908, by Dr. J. S. Gale.[131] The student body grew every year until in 1908 there were ninety-eight enrolled.[132] This institution being a union of the four Presbyterian missions, on the faculty were members of all four missions.

The method of training leadership for the Korean churches under the Methodist missions was somewhat the same as that of the Presbyterians. A new and systematic

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128 E. L. Shields, "Coöperation in Training Nurses," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (January, 1907), pp. 10, 11.
129 G. H. Jones, "The Capping of the Nurses," *ibid.*, No. 4 (April, 1907), pp. 49, 50.
130 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1909, p. 281.
131 *Ibid.* for 1909, p. 292.
132 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1909, p. 292.

system was organized in 1906 by Dr. G. H. Jones.[133] The policy of the mission was not to give intensive training to a chosen few who were to be ministers of the church, but to meet the need of "every worker in the church, both lay and ministerial." However, graded courses were arranged for preachers and other paid helpers, for lay leaders and all unpaid church workers, and for the younger men who looked forward to the ministry as a possible life work. These institutes were held for from five to seven weeks in central localities such as Seoul and Pyeng Yang.[134] In 1908, in order to "train and qualify a native ministry, including preachers and helpers,"[135] the two Methodist missions united in the Bible institute work.[136] By this agreement the two missions were to finance the work according to the number of their students, the location of the school was to be in Seoul; and each mission was to supply faculty members. Besides this Bible Institute, there was also provided a training school for all local preachers, exhorters, colporteurs, wives of pastors, Bible women and other district workers. This school, too, was placed in charge of the Bible Institute faculty, who were appointed by the bishops of the cooperating missions. All theological instruction to preachers was given in connection with the work in the Bible Institute.[137]

Educational work during the period covers such an extensive field that a detailed account cannot be given. Nevertheless we must mention the good work carried on for the blind at Pyeng Yang. We have already referred to the beginnings of this work by Dr. R. S. Hall. In 1909 she sent Yi Ik Min to Chefoo, China, to study the methods of teaching the deaf. When he returned he brought with him a nephew who had been in the school. With the assistance of these two, Mrs. Hall began the first school in Korea for the deaf.[138]

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133 Methodist Episcopal North Report for 1907, p. 412.
134 *Ibid.* for 1908, pp. 412, 413.
135 Note that it is not exclusively for ministers.
136 For the full text of the constitution of union, see The Annual Report of Boards of Missions of M. E. South for 1908, pp. 55-57.
137 M. E. South Report for 1908, p. 57.
138 Report of the First Annual Convention on the Education of the Blind and Deaf in the Far East, p. 13.

While Dr. Hall concentrated her efforts on blind girls, in 1903 Mrs. Alice Fish Moffett began a similar work for blind boys.[139] This school, however, was entirely managed by the Koreans. In 1907 there were reported six pupils and a school endowment amounting to six hundred dollars.[140]

Thus far we have left undiscussed, primary education. This, as maintained by the missions, was so closely connected with the steps undertaken by the government that the two movements must be treated together. In order to understand the situation, a description of the magnitude of the work is necessary. In 1909 Dr. A. J. Brown, reporting the situation of primary education under the Presbyterian Mission, made the following statement:

"We have 589 primary schools scattered all over the country. Most of them are at out-stations. Practically every group of Christians in Korea has a primary school. Sometimes there is a separate building and sometimes the church building is used. 588 of these schools are supported by the Korean Christians themselves; an extraordinarily encouraging fact. The growth of these schools is indicated by the fact that in 1902 there were only 63, with 845 boys and 148 girls; whereas now there 589 with 10,916 boys and 2,511 girls. The primary schools are located at the stations."[141]

Dr. W. A. Noble, of the Northern Methodist Mission, describes the situation as follows:

"The magnitude of this movement (educational) of the people toward the education of the young is astonishing, and the self-sacrifice experienced to secure this end is unparalleled in anything of which I have heard anywhere. Individuals in some communities literally impoverish themselves to erect school buildings and to bear their part of the teachers' salaries.[142]

This educational renaissance was a product of the new conditions and was accompanied by a deep nationalistic feeling. Military drill was continued, field days became more numerous, and lectures on the overthrow of Poland and the enslavement of subject races were frequent. Out of the

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139 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1909, p. 290.
140 *Ibid.* for 1907, p. 264.
141 A. J. Brown, *Report of a Second Visit to China, Japan and Korea* (1909), p. 189.
142 Methodist Episcopal North Report for 1909, p. 189.

situation arose the problem of the secularization and "politicalization" of the church primary schools. In order to avoid this danger, the missionaries adopted a policy of strict church control. The principles which were laid down by the Northern Presbyterian Mission at Chai Ryung are typical:

"1. The local school committee which may be appointed by the pastor or session, or elected by the church with the consent of the pastor or session, is to be composed of baptized Christians.

2. The teacher must be approved by the pastor, session, or helper.

3. The school must have daily prayers.

4. The official curriculum is to be followed."[143]

It is comparatively easy to make laws but it is often difficult to enforce them. The missions laid down excellent principles, but there were localities where these were not observed. The West Gate School at Pyeng Yang is a good example:

"A party endeavored to make the school a center of political agitation. Many boys from heathen families were admitted. Too much time was devoted to athletics and military drill, and when an effort was made by the school committee to check this, one of the most influential teachers refused to obey and was removed from the position."[144]

Such an action was often criticized and caused persecution of Christians by non-Christian patriots.[145]

The Japanese government authorities also saw danger in these Christian schools. In 1908, therefore, the government promulgated laws requiring all private schools to register in the department of education. Among other things, these laws provided government censorship of text-books, defined qualifications of teachers, and asserted the right of the Minister of Education to order the closure of a school under certain conditions.[146] Missionaries feared that the teaching of religion in church schools would be eliminated and took prompt action. The educational committee of the General Council held a conference on the matter and submitted a memor-

143 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1905, p. 306.
144 *Ibid.*, p. 291.
145 W. N. Blair, *The Korean Pentecost*, p. 40.
146 For the full text of the law, see *K. M. F.*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (January, 1909), p. 27.

andum to the Resident-General through the American and British Consul Generals. The first paragraph of the document reads :

"In regard to the curricula of our schools we shall expect to maintain a standard equal to that of the Government Schools, Christianity, of course, being taught as the basis of morals and religion."[147]

In the meantime, the Educational Committee of the General Council at Seoul began to seek to ascertain the motives of the government in promulgating the laws and to discover the general attitude of the government toward Christian schools. As to the motives, it was found that the government desired to place all private schools under its supervision, but that there was no objection whatsoever to religious teaching in church schools.[148] Two very interesting points were brought out, however. First, it was stated that "the government does not consider the Bugle and Drum curriculum sufficient, nor is it over anxious to have such history as that of the overthrow of Poland instilled into the minds of pupils at just this juncture." The other point was that "more of the Japanese language might be taught."[149]

This being the period before annexation, the mission schools were not urged to comply with the laws, because the management had extraterritorial privileges. The mission bodies, however, decided to register their institutions with the government.[150] A large number of the church primary schools registered and received recognition, and some of the mission schools also secured the some recognition.[151] As a recent writer says,[152] it was a mere foreshadowing of what followed. One of the complicated educational problems of

147 S. A. Moffett, Report of the Educational Interests Committee of the General Council, *K. M. F.*, Vol. 4, No. 10 (October, 1908), p 151.

148 For the full text of the communication between the American Consul General at Seoul and the missionary bodies, conveying the Japanese government attitude toward the teaching of religion in mission schools, see The Official Journal of the Korea Annual Conference of the M. E. Church for 1909, pp. 27-39.

149 J. S. Gale, Information by the Chairman of the Educational Committee, *K. M. F.*, Vol. 4, No. 10 (October, 1908), pp. 147, 148.

150 Editorial, *K. M. F.*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (January. 1908), p. 8.

151 M. E. South Report for 1910, p. 96.

152 Cf. H. H. Underwood, *Modern Education in Korea*, p. 190.

the following years was the necessity of continual effort to comply with the frequently modified educational ordinances of the government which had their orign in this act of 1908.

In surveying the educational development of the mission agencies, we are impressed by the magnitude of what was being achieved. The missionaries virtually controlled the intellectual life of the Christians and these in turn were the most influential and progressive members of the village communities. As the Christian Church increased, the responsibility for elementary education was transferred to the Korean Church, while the missions undertook to provide secondary, higher, medical, industrial, and theological education. The rise of secondary schools was especially marked. An academy or a high school sprang up at almost every mission station and others were organized under Korean management. As we have already seen, these schools were started by missionaries already heavily burdened and were almost without any equipment. Because of the lack of resources and scarcity of students who were prepared for higher education, the only college in the country was still struggling for existence. The theological seminary and Bible schools attracted a large number of Christian workers, but theological instruction in the true sense of the term was not yet known. The medical college, too, was in its infancy. Industrial education was what the people needed, but due to a lack of demand on their part, it was not prosperous. It should also be remembered that every school of whatever type suffered from the universal problem of paucity of teachers and want of buildings and apparatus. The lack of text-books was another handicap. To make matters worse, in 1909 "a most drastic system of censorship gave a crushing blow to the budding book writers and the text-book makers in particular."[153]

In spite of these handicaps, the Christian schools were popular and those who did go to school flocked to the Christian institutions. This turning of the Korean youth to Christian institutions at once commanded the attention of the Japanese.

153 M. E. South Report for 1910, p. 97.

They built fine-looking schoolhouses with public funds and provided Japanese teachers, but very few went to their schools. The writer distinctly remembers that in his town during 1910-1911 the public school under Japanese control had thirty to forty students, while there were enrolled about four hundred boys and girls in the two Christian primary schools. Such a situation in rural districts often created jealousy and competition. In view of these facts, it was little wonder that the government took steps to place the private schools under its supervision.

MEDICAL WORK

The medical work of the period ranges from simple clinical and dispensary work in pioneer stations to highly developed hospitals. Dr. T. H. Daniel at Kunsan, Dr. W. H. Forsythe at Mokpo, Dr. Arthur H. Norton at Haiju, and Dr. James Van Buskirk at Kongju, were the pioneer missionary doctors in out-stations. The medical work at Pyeng Yang, Syen Chyun, Taiku and Fusan, was continued. At Songdo the first mission hospital, the Ivy Memorial, was built in 1907, and in Seoul the new Methodist Women's Hospital was built at East Gate in 1908. At Fusan, by the help of the Mission to Lepers in India and the East, a leper asylum was opened in 1910.[154] The Severance Hospital at Seoul made such progress during these years that in 1909 although the institution received financial aid from the mission board including the salaries of the missionary doctors, the income reported was $9,344.35 (United States Gold).[155] The hospital was prosperous not only financially but also in equipment and efficiency. In 1909 the work of the hospital and its allied institutions was divided into fourteen departmental activities. They were:

"(1) Native Medical and Surgical Practice; (2) Native Dispensary Work; (3) Native Private Office Consultations; (4) Native Home Visitation work; (5) Foreign Medical and Surgical Practice; (6) Foreign Office Consultation; (7) Foreign Home Visitations; (8) Pasteur In-

154 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1911, p. 278.
155 *Ibid.* for 1909, p. 281.

stitute; (9) Contagious Diseases; (10) Optical Department; (11) Medical School; (12) Nurses' School; (13) Evangelistic Work and (14) Translations."[156]

The missionary physicians not only ministered to the sick, but also engaged in research work. In the winter of 1907 the Korea Medical Missionary Society was organized for conference and study of methods of work.[157] In March, 1908, the Graduate Nurses' Association of Korea was also organized to "advance the profession, and to learn the best ways of doing efficient work in Korea."[158]

AUXILIARY BODIES

The Young Men's Christian Association, which had been successfully organized in the preceding period, made substantial growth. By the generous aid of Mr. John Wanamaker, of Philadelphia, a large and well equipped building was erected in 1907. The cornerstones of the building were laid by the Japanese Resident-General, Prince Ito, and the young Crown Prince of Korea.[159] The progress of the work was recorded in the following words:

"The work of the Y. M. C. A. is carried on in an old Korean structure and in a couple of wooden sheds. Yet its classes number eighteen hundred attendants, its secretaries and teachers include four trained foreigners, and nightly assemblies bring together many of the finest young men of Seoul. The athletic department of the work is prominent.... The beneficent influence of the Association is felt in all the churches of Seoul and in many places outside the capital."[160]

In order to meet the educational and literary needs of the younger generation of Koreans, in 1908 the Board of Directors of the Y. M. C. A. applied to the International Committee to provide an endowment fund of $ 250,000 "for the purpose of translating and publishing books" for the young men."[161] We have, however, no record of the approval of this petition.

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156 N. P. Report for 1908, p. 281.
157 *Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (January, 1909), p. 281.
158 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1909, p. 281.
159 *Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 3, No. 12 (December, 1907), p. 189.
160 *Ibid.*
161 *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (February, 1908,) pp. 17, 18.

Another important religious agency to enter Korea during the period was the World's Sunday School Association. In the spring of 1908 Dr. H. M. Hamill of Nashville, Tennessee, who had been connected with the Sunday school work of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South came to Korea. Dr. Hamill bore a letter from Dr. G. W. Bailey, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the World's Sunday School Association, in which he offered an immediate donation of one thousand dollars for the initial expenses if an association were organized in Korea. Missionaries of different denominations seized the opportunity, and on March 19, 1908, launched the Korea Branch of the World's Sunday School Association, with T. H. Yun as president and Graham Lee as chairman of the Executive Committee.[162]

In 1908,[163] the Salvation Army began its work in Korea. Coming at a time when political agitation was high, the uniform and bugle and drum and the intense zeal of the Army drew large numbers.[164] The new arrivals preached through interpreters, who might not very accurately translate the message. However, with their characteristic zeal they prosecuted their work, especially in fighting against the social evils that the Japanese régime brought into Korea.[165]

LITERARY WORK

In the foregoing pages we have shown two great movements, namely, the awakening of religious interest which was largely carried on by a wide dissemination of the Gospels and other Christian literature, and the establishment of schools, which called for text-books. Because of these movements, demand for literature was imperative. A missionary reporting the situation wrote:

"There is the demand for literature—simply overwhelming in its immensity—the call of a reading nation for food to supply its intellectual

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162 "Another Notable Movement," *Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 4. No. 3 (March, 1908), pp. 34, 35.
163 *Korea Mission Field*, Vol. 4, No. 10 (October, 1908), p. 154.
164 A. J. Brown, *Report of a Secoad Visit to China, Japan, and Korea* (1909), p. 92.
165 *Ibid.*, p. 74.

craving, of a Christian church for nourishment suited to its use, and that of its children. Hundreds of thousands of volumes have been sent out, but the call still grows louder."[166]

Literary work, therefore, fell into two groups, furnishing Christian literature for the non-Christian and the Christian reading publics, and providing text-books for mission schools. Under the first class we list such tracts as "The True Savior," "Guide to Heaven,"[167] "Life of David Brainard,"[168] and the publication of the *Christian News*.[169] The field of text-books was so wide that we can suggest only a very few volumes divided among the several branches of education. For the primary schools, books on geography, physics, and elementary arithmetic were published.[170] For medical education, books on diagnosis, pathology, bacteriology, and surgery were prepared.[171] For the Theological Seminary, a book on homiletics was tranalsted.[172] Aside from these volumes, missionaries published several books in English to interest the Christian constituency in the West. H. G. Underwood's "The Call of Korea" was published in 1908, Mrs. A. A. Baird's "Daybreak in Korea" in 1909, and J. S. Gale's "Korea in Transition" the same year.

The Korean Religious Tract Society which had been in existence twenty years was still making progress. By 1907 it adopted a new policy aiming at self-support and a strict business basis of seeking to avoid loss. The capital which had been accumulating reached about 13,000 yen in 1907. In spite of the fact that it had no suitable house, the society handled a stock of 9,000 yen and employed five clerks. In order to increase the circulation, book depots were opened at railway stations and bookstores in country towns.[173]

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166 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1907, p. 252.
167 *Ibid.* for 1906, p. 262.
168 *Ibid.* for 1907, p. 262.
169 *Ibid.* for 1907, p. 258.
170 *Ibid.* for 1909, p. 281.
171 *Ibid.* for 1909, p. 279.
172 *Ibid.* for 1909, p. 270.
173 Extracts from Annual Report of the Korean Religious Tract Society, *K. M. F.*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (April, 1907), pp. 60-64.

THE METHODIST PUBLISHING HOUSE

In the last chapter we discussed a proposal of the Northern Methodist Mission for a union publishing house in Seoul and recounted the steps that were taken for securing the permission of mission boards at home to raise funds to equip the concern. In response to the proposal, the Korean Religious Tract Society and the Southern Methodist Mission agreed to join in the union.[174] However, "after considerable time had elapsed the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions gave formal notice of withdrawal, and the plan was abandoned."[175] Still, the work steadily progressed so that in 1908 net resources of 25,000 yen were reported together with contracts in hand for work amounting to 7,000 yen.[176]

BIBLE WORK

Of the many great movements and events during these four years of history, the completion of the translation of the Bible was one of the most significant. The New Testament, it will be recalled, had been completed in 1900. Since then the Board of Bible Translators had been at work on a translation of the Old Testament and finished it in 1910.[177] In this connection it will be recalled that it was twenty-six years since the first Protestant missionary took up his residence in Korea, and twenty-four years since tde Board of Translators had been formed. During these years many capable missionaries had had an active part in translation and had offered constructive criticism. To three men, however—Dr. H. G. Underwood, who had been the chairman of the Board throughout the entire period with the exception of intervals when he was away from the field, Dr. J. S. Gale, an accomplished scholar, and Dr. W. D. Reynolds, a careful and resourceful literary worker—the chief honor is due.

The three Bible Societies which had been working in the country for a time continued to share the expenses of Bible

174 M.E. North Report for 1907, p. 413.
175 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
176 *Ibid.* for 1908, p. 382.
177 Annual Report of the Bible Society for 1911, p. 830.

translati on, publication, and circulation. In 1907, however, when Messrs J. Fox and J. H. Ritson, secretaries of the American Bible Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society respectively visited Korea, they could not get together on a common basis for their work. Thereupon from January 1, 1908, the American Society appointed S. A. Beck to conduct its work independent of the British Society. In the meantime, the National Bible Society of Scotland withdrew from Korea, though it continued to render some financial assistance through the British Society.[178] The British Society continued under the supervision of Hugh Miller, who had been its agent for many years. The American and British Societies carried on their publication and colportage separately, although they still worked conjointly in translation and revision.[179] The Permanent Executive Bible Committee continued to act as advisory body and cooperated with these Bible Societies.[180]

The circulation of the Scriptures mounted rapidly. The British Society alone reported a total circulation of 666,178 volumes in 1910 as against 151,230 in 1907. The most notable event was the publication of a million copies of the Gospel of Mark during the Million Movement.[181] However, on account of the rapid increase of Christian communities in the interior, a number of colporteurs were withdrawn and the responsibility for the dissemination of the Scriptures was placed in the hands of Christian people.[182]

POLITICS AND MISSIONARIES

In the last chapter we pointed out the delicate position in which the missionaries found themselves in relation to the political situation. The problem arose from the Japanese policy in Korea and the missionaries' attitude toward it. The Japanese military rule resulted in incidents like that reported by Rev. Elmer M. Cable to his mission. He wrote.

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178 Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1909, pp. 254, 255
179 *Ibid.* for 1908, p. 334.
180 *Ibid.* for 1909, pp. 353, 354.
181 *Ibid.* for 1910, p. 347.
182 *Ibid.* for 1908, p. 335.

"Our church at Annai was burned to the ground by the Japanese soldiers, and at Sajackkol three of the Christians were seized and tied to a stake and ordered to be shot. Two of them were killed, but one escaped and his almost miraculous deliverance made a deep impression on the people."[183]

Such an outrage might easily be construed, especially since it was only one of many, as part of an anti-Christian and oppressive policy of the Japanese. On the other hand, should the missionaries try to succor their converts or defend their rights, their action could easily be interpreted as interference with politics and even as being Anti-Japanese. The situation was one of peculiar difficulty.

The Japanese policy in Korea was not the only problem. The influence of the missionaries over the Korean Christians gave rise to another, for the Japanese government believed that the missionaries had moral prestige with the Koreans. Prince Ito, speaking to a company of missionaries, said:

"While I am taking unsparing pains to repress wrong doing among the Japanese, I rely on you for your hearty coöperation toward the same end among the Koreans, in so far as it lies in your power as their teachers and leaders."[184]

The relationships of the missionaries with the Korean Christians were equally delicate. When they coöperated with the Japanese authorities, they were charged with being partisans of Japan and lost the confidence and trust of the people. Some of the missionaries were openly criticized. The most conspicuous example was Bishop M. C. Harris of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He had labored among the Japanese for many years as a missionary and had been decorated by the government. He knew the Japanese better than did others. It was natural, therefore, that he should be kindly disposed toward them. However, his relationship as Bishop of the Korean Christians was a difficult one to maintain. The Rev. Walter Smith, of the Northern Presbyterian Mission at Fusan, writing to Dr. Arthur J. Brown under the date of January 30, 1908, stated:

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183 M. E. North Report for 1908.
184 M. E. North Report for 1907, p. 29.

"In Korea Bishop Harris is quite generally considered an agent of the Japanese government rather than a Bishop in the Christian church, and others actin g under his influence will or have already succumbed to the blandishment of a people generally regarded as insincere as they are politic."[185]

What was the attitude of the missionaries toward the Japanese and the Koreans? As far as we can discover in the private letters of the missionaries, a large number favored and coöperated with the Japanese and made an effort to quiet the restlessness of the Christians.

The Rev. Walter Smith, in the letter which was just referred to, said:

"A great deal of land is in control of Japanese, some gotten honestly, though taking advantage of ignorance, and much altogether dishonestly....Personally I would prefer to see annexation than the present condition."

This letter antedated annexation by almost two years. In spite of statements like that of Mr. Smith, the larger number of the missionaries held to a "non-committal and neutral policy in reference to the national problem."[186]

This so-called non-committal and neutral policy was, however, only toward the Japanese. The Rev. Wade Koons, writing under date of February 4, 1908, said:

"As to the political matter, we have done what we believe to be right, and we are free to say that our policy is not that of the Methodist Mission, at least of those who come particularly in contact with Prof. [George T]. Ladd. We have not opposed the Japenese, and their officials of all grades, from police sergeants to Prince Ito, himself, have repeatedly said that they rely upon us as their friends in these trying times. Yesterday the American Consul-General told me that he felt we had behaved with great wisdom and discretion. We have assured the people that their duty was to obey the Japanese and to do so with a 'sweet mind' and not to work for independence, and we have in no way tried to discredit or hamper them in their reforms. I have spent hours explaining to the church officers and teaching men advantages of Japanese rule, and I cannot think of one who has been kept from it."[187]

The Rev. Charles Allen Clark of the Northern Presbyterian

185 Korean Information Papers, Foreign Mission Board, Presbyterian Church, New York.
186 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1908, p. 269.

Mission, writing from Seoul under date of February 15, 1908, said :

"As to the Board's action for a non-committial and neutral policy concerning political matters, it does not change by one iota our mission policy for it has always been rigidly held and enforced. More than any other mission in Korea we have insisted upon that policy and when one gets to the bottom of the whole matter it is exactly because we have always maintained that policy that we stand today as we do before the Japanese. We believe that the church as a church has absolutely nothing to do with politics in any way....Our position has been that the church is a spiritual organization and as such is not concerned with politics either for or against the present or any other government. Literally hundreds of times in the past we have stood by when our people have been suffering persecution and we have refused to speak one word to any magistrate that might free them....One year ago the Wipyeng movement known as the Righteous Army began and it now continues. When it first began it spread like wildfire. We set ourselves rigidly against it and we have held our church and almost to a man our members rigidly from going into it."[188]

These documents are typical of the attitude of the larger number of missionaries. They strictly maintained neutrality toward the Japanese, even when the Christian people suffered "persecution." But they "assured the people that their duty was to obey the Japanese...and not to work for independence." The policy, therefore, was not non-committal, but definitely committal, even partisan. The missionaries held this policy not for themselves alone, but also taught the Korean leaders to act likewise. In 1907 following the abdication of the Korean emperor, the indignant people rose up and carried on "a guerilla warfare against the Japanese in the interior. But for the influence of the Korean Christians in the north, and particularly of one man, the Elder Kil of Pyeng Yang, now Pastor Kil, the whole region around Pyeng Yang, famous for the sturdy fighters, would have arisen in insurrection. But this wise Christian leader pressed home on the people that 'the powers that be are ordained of God,' and with the assistance of the Christian church he turned the fury

187 Korean Information Papers, *op. cit.*
188 *Ibid.*

of the whole north, and delivered Korea from tremendous bloodshed."[189]

Yet there were some who charged the Korean Church with being political in its aims and held that the missionaries were meddling with politics. "The charges," says Professor George T. Ladd, "have been made not simply by an irresponsible Japanese press, but by several of the more reputable and generally trustworthy of its papers."[190] The Professor also stated the "charge" in the following words :

"It cannot be truthfully claimed that none of the missionaries have ever meddled in: politics with a view to injure the Japanese Government in Korea....They have, from time to time, allowed themselves to be used by the more wily Korean, whether un-Christian official or Christian convert, so as to involve themselves in implied complicity with political intrigues."[191]

We have already pointed out the position of Professor Ladd in reference to the Korean question.[192] To offset this statement, we refer to the following words from Bishop M. C. Harris, who, as we have shown, was considered a "Japanese agent."

"The Church in Korea occupied a delicate position. It is a great power, and during the troubles of last year, guided by the missions, it stood aloof from all disturbances and held the people in order....Our missionaries in Korea gave themselves absolutely and wholly to the work of evangelizing the people. They are not connected, directly or indirectly with any domestic or any political problems."[193]

CONCLUSION

In concluding the survey of the Christian expansio n in the momentous four years between 1907 and 1910, we can say that it was a period of many great movements which established the traditions of Korean Christianity and which gave inspiration and example to the coming generations. The passing of the old order and the installation of foreign rule

189 Northern Presbyterian Report for 1908, p. 269.
190 G. T. Ladd, *In Korea with Marquis Ito*, p. 366.
191 *Ibid.*, p. 398.
192 *Supra*, p. 9 and foot note.
193 Report to the Quadrennial General Conference, the Journal of the 25th Delegated General Conference, Methodist Conference in 1908, p. 860.

left the Koreans dissatisfied. With this spirit they turned to Christianity for inspiration and to the Church for fellowship and instruction in their desperate effort to assert themselves as a self-reliant and respected people. There were cynical criticisms, such as that

"The 'purification' of Korea required, and still requires, the firm, strong hand of a civil power. We cannot, then, credit any such sentiment as that expressed in the following statement: 'The influence of Christianity holds out a better prospect of spontaneous reform than the outside, violent interference of a money-grabbing and hated heathen enemy.' "[194]

We have, however, already shown the extensive activities of the Korean Church and the regenerated character of the Korean Christians through these perilous hours of national life. By 1910 Christianity was established and the Church had become the most potent national institution. A contemporary observer, characterizing Christianity in Korea, wrote:

"From perfect knowledge of the Church in Kerea, I can bear testimony to the sincerity, zeal, and spirit of self-denial of this body of believers. The proofs of the above abound. It will surprise many to learn that the churches are self-supporting. Self-help, self-reliance, coupled with large liberality, are marked characteristics. In so large a body there are lapses, of course, but relatively they are few."[195]

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194 G. T. Ladd, *op. cit.*, p. 395.
195 Excerpt from the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, reprinted in *K. M. F.*, Vol. 4, No. 5 (May, 1908), p. 70.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing survey of the expansion of Christianity in Korea, an attempt has been made to set forth in detail what was accomplished up to 1910.

"Protestant Christianity began its work in the midst of bloodshed and terror when an American missionary physician with his surgical skill and Christian courage opened the way for the Gospel in Korea. Twice in these twenty-five years the country has resounded with the shots of hostile forces as great nations contended for supremacy."[1]

In the midst of this turmoil and change, the new faith made such rapid progress that a missionary writing in 1909 declared:

"Politically she is nil, but in the missionary circle she is a first-rate power."[2]

When evangelical Christianity was introduced into the land, the force of unrest was undermining the organized life of the people. Religious, social, educational, and political institutions were disintegrating. After Korea entered the family of nations, feeble attempts were made to correct these conditions and to work out the political salvation of the nation, but they resulted in failure. Disappointment, discontent, and disillusionment made the people responsive to the presentation of new ways of life.

Christianity had the advantage of entering the ancient kingdom before other forms of modern civilization had taken possession of the thought of the people. Before the Sino-Japanese War, Koreans did not understand the nature of Western civilization and the character of the Christian religion. But when the war came, the Koreans were forced to recognize the superior quality of that Western civilization which had enabled the little Japanese to conquer the mighty Chinese. During the reform era, men became enamoured of

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1 Graham Lee, *Foreword, Quarto Centennial Papers*, read before the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. of America (1909), p. 1.

2 J. S. Gale, *Korea in Transition*, p. xiii.

Western ideas and ideals. The leaders of the people were champions of the West and identified themselves with the Christian religion. The new era not only tended to give the nation a new mental outlook, but also made an opening for the Christian religion. Since there was no other feature of Western civilization immediately at hand to attract the people, they turned to the Western religion. When they once accepted the faith and entered its institutional life, they found social, intellectual, and religious satisfaction. The simple-minded Koreans believed that the Christian religion was the whole of Western civilization, and their new-found spiritual satisfaction convinced them that Christianity was the panacea for the ills from which they were suffering. There was every reason to believe this, for it was Christianity which established churches, providing fellowship among believers, and increased the cohesion and unity of the people. It was also the Church that inaugurated a modern educational system, gave the people literature, raised the standard of morality, inaugurated social reforms, and introduced industry. The Christian movement brought to the Koreans new ideals and new standards of life.

In spite of its early connection with the government, the new religion spread chiefly among the humble and poor. The Koreans believed what was taught them, without raising many questions. They acted as they were told and made earnest efforts to be "doers of the word." Jesus himself was a man of the country, so his parables and discourses appealed to the Korean farmers, and his personality was vivid to them. The Koreans understood the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles more readily than the subtle theology of the city man, Paul. In their struggle and strife, they found comfort and peace in the simple teachings of the Gospel. They did not hold the knowledge to themselves alone, but told the story to their friends and their neighbors. As the message was the tidings of a transformed life, no persuasive apologetics were required for its propagation. Thus a typical church in Korea is a village church, and a typical Christian is a sturdy and hard-working and honest farmer. The future

strength and weakness of the Church are largely dependent on these humble rural folk.

The rapid development of the Church was not entirely due to the causes which have just been summarized, but is to be attributed in part to the policy and methods of missionary work. The evangelical missions in Korea present an object lesson of the results of emphasizing self-support. The Korean Christians gave their time and means for the extension of their new faith, elected their ablest and wisest as their leaders in the Church, and gave of their means and subtance for the support of their teachers and institutions. As to their zeal for witness-bearing, perhaps there have been no people in so early a stage of Christian life who have committed themselves to it as did they.

"The period of the conversion of Northern Europe covered about four centuries. Then...there followed an interval of approximately four hundred years when practically no effort was made to carry the gospel to regions beyond."[3]

In Korea conversion and expansion went hand in hand.

"From lip to lip and heart to heart it [the Gospel] has gone to the distant valleys on the Manchu border, to the windings of the Tuman, to the whirling tides, rocks, and across streams of the southern archipelago, from east to west all over the land."[4]

In regard to self-government, the Korean Church was not organized in the early stage of its expansion. The reason for deferring this has been given in the preceding chapters. Yet it must be borne in mind that the Koreans' attitude was a factor. It was not because "spiritually they are in advance of many Christian nations, but they lack balance, foresight, the essence of self-government,"[5] that they made no aggressive demands for self-government. The contrary was the truth. The Korean church leaders realized that the continued growth of the young church depended upon the guidance of the missionaries. On this point we shall quote F. A. McKenzie, formerly a war correspondent to the London *Daily News:*

3 E. C. Moore, *The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World,* p. 10.
4 J. S. Gale, *Korea in Transition,* p. 191.
5 A statement quoted by A. J. Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East,* p. 547.

"A strong effort was made to Japanize the Korean churches, to make them branches of the Japanese Churches, and to make them instruments in the Japanese campaign of assimilation. The missionaries resisted this to the utmost. They declared that they would be neutral in political matters, as they were directed by their Goverments to be.... I am aware that they [Japanese] deny this, but here is a case where actions and speeches cannot be reconciled."[6]

Self-support was successfully carried out. Both self-propagation and self-government were the logical consequences of the self-support program. The persistence of the principle gave the Koreans the feeling that the whole enterprise was theirs. The teachers who taught them were their own servants and the churches in which they worshipped were theirs. They established and maintained schools for their children. The Korean Christians, therefore, treated the missionaries as their guests and respected them according to the canons of Oriental courtesy and politeness. As soon as the people caught this conception of the enterprise, they went out to preach to others and to elect elders to govern their congregations. It is the self-support principle that created the self-respect, self-reliance, and independent spirit which are necessary for any successful movement, and that made the Korean Church active and endowed it with resources which sustained it through all its trials.

In order to bring home to us an understanding of the magnitude of this enterprise, we insert a few figures. In 1910 the Commission on Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World reported to the World Missionary Conference, at Edinburgh, the following facts in regard to the missionary situation in Korea:

"The Missions in Korea maintain 307 missionaries including wives, who occupy twenty-three mission stations. Five of these stations are places of joint occupation: namely Seoul, Pyeng Yang, Chemulpo, Fusan, and Wonsan. Every one of the thirteen provinces has its own mission station, and through the work of Korean evangelists, Christianity has secured a foothold in greater or less degree in nearly every one of the 330 counties which constitute these provinces. The work done at some of stations has been remarkable both for its rapidity and its

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6 F. A. McKenzie, *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, p. 212.

permanence. One of the Pyeng Yang churches, in the course of history covering only sixteen years, has become five churches and still the congregation of the parent church, numbering 2,500, is so large that the men and women have to meet separately."[7]

In the same year it was estimated that there were over two hundred thousand people who identified themselves with Christianity and that their contribution for all purposes amounted annually to over 200,000 yen.[8]

The two hundred thousand Christian adherents among the thirteen million[9] of the population were very insignificant as far as numbers go. The statistics, however, do not discredit the success of mission work, nor should they elate us. There is success that cannot be statistically recorded, and this success far exceeds the numerical achievement. It is, of course, impossible to make a statistical record of the quality of these two hundred thousand Christian adherents. Undoubtedly many were rudimentary Christians, not only in their knowledge but also in their lives. In estimating the character of the Korean Christian we cannot depend on the superficial judgment of travelers who never have taken the trouble to concern themselves with the spiritual life of the Korean people. The activities of the Korean Christians bespeak their own character. A missionary executive, after his extended visit to Korea, declared:

"Taking Korean Christians as a whole, the facts which have been stated regarding their giving, their study of the Bible, their zeal for the conversion of others, and the consistency of their daily lives, should protect them against the charge of being unintellegent and merely emotional Christians.... For myself, I cannot withhold the tribute of my confidence and love for those Korean Christians. As I met them in various parts of the country, in villages and cities, churches and homes, I was profoundly impressed by their sincerity and devotion."[10]

In spite of all deficiencies, the Christian community represented an intelligent, moral, and religious power and

7 Report of Commission I, Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World, World Missionary Conference, 1910, pp. 74, 75.
8 Annual Report of B. F. B. S. for 1910, p. 347.
9 At the time of Annexation this number was given for the population of Korea.—*Results of Three Years' Administration of Chosen since Annexation* p. 2.
10 A. J. Brown, *Report of a Second Visit to China, Japan, and Korea* (1909), pp. 92, 93.

created an atmosphere which exerted an ennobling influence on the corrupt and degenerating life of the people, and circulated the new blood, the vital force of Christian ideals. As this process advanced there came into the intellectual, social, moral and industrial life of the country a new vitality which marks the commencement of a new epoch in the history of the ancient kingdom. It is true that by 1910 the Christian community had not developed to such a stage of self-support, self-extension, and self-propagation that the agencies at the home bases could entirely cease the sending of missionaries, nor has it yet. The missionary era had been too short and the advancement of the people in modern education was still on too low a level for the final goal of the missionary enterprise yet to be reached. Within these twenty-five years of its history, however, the Korean Church had already shown to a marked degree its willingness to move toward the final goal of missions.

The missionary enterprise, like all other human movements, is affected by the men who are its agents. We have already indicated the fervent evangelistic tone of the missionaries and their converts, and their strongly conservative tendencies. It is interesting to note the following characterization, by a missionary executive, of the typical missionary in Korea:

"The typical missionary of the first quarter century after the opening of the country was a man of the Puritan type. He kept the Sabbath as our New England forefathers did a century ago. He looked upon dancing, smoking, and card-playing as sins in which no true followers of Christ should indulge. In theology and Biblical criticism he was strongly conservative, and he held as a vital truth the premillenarian view of the second coming of Christ. The higher criticism and liberal theology were deemed dangerous heresies. In most of the evangelical churches of America and Great Britain, conservatives and liberals have learned to live and work together in peace; but in Korea the few men who hold 'the modern view' have a rough road to travel, particularly in the Presbyterian group of missions."[11]

Along with the inherent conservatism of the Korean Christians, other-worldliness is also marked. The Koreans,

11 A. J. Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East*, p. 540.

having been influenced by Chinese philosophy, were exalters of the past. The days of the Emperors Yao and Shun (who are supposed to have reigned in China about 2357-2205 B. C.) were their golden age. With the passing of the old order, however, the ideal of a past golden age disappeared, With the introduction of Christianity, the people found a new golden age which is to be another world, and the other world became the aim of their living. This other-worldly. tendency caused the Korean Christians to despair of making this present world better.

Under the old political regime they were "squeezed" by corrupt officials; under the new rule they lost their country There seemed to be no hope in this world. The Christian people therefore held their hope to be in the future; they preached to others that everybody might share in the blessings of the future. They gave their substance that they might "lay up their treasure in heaven." It is true that churches instituted measures of social reform, dealing, for instances, with spiritous liquors, marriage, and the owning of slaves.[12] But to the average humble Christian

> "To read the Bible daily, to sing hymns, and to go to church, to obey the directions of pastors—this is regarded as the whole duty of man. Even those who do not go to this extreme, look upon other duties as unimportant. Real believers slight unbelieving parents or elders, regard non-believing friends as Gentiles, and treat with contempt all duties toward state and society, as the 'work of the world.' "[13]

This other worldly attitude may seem inconsistent with what has several times previously been said about one of the motives which led people to become Christians—their despair over the situation in Korea and their hope that in Christiainty they might find a force that would regenerate the nation. The fact is that both attitudes were represented. Some Christians, especially the better educated, such a Baron Yun, looked to the Gospel to save the country by injecting into it a

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12 Official Minutes of the Annual Meeting, Korea Mission, M. E. Church for 1903, pp. 62, 63.

13 Yi Kwang Su, "Defects of the Korean Church Today," *K. M. F.*, Vol. 14, No. 12 (December, 1918), pp. 254, 255.

new faith and a new moral dynamic. Others, and probably the majority, looked upon the Gospel as a means of escape from this present evil world and as an insurance of a better life beyond the grave. Many, too, despairing of any gradual change for the better and encouraged by the premillenial views of many of the missionaries, expected a better day to dawn for the nation through the cataclysmic intervention of God.

Along with this other-worldly tendency went a neglect of intellectual training. In Christian communities the Bible was the Book of books and theology was the "queen of sciences." The missionaries, at the beginning of the rapid rise of the Christian communities, were so busy in proselyting that they almost totally neglected the training of leaders for the rising church. It was "a serious error of supposing that congregations can be permanently maintained in stable Christian character by memorizing hymns and texts, learning Bible stories and listening to the extemporaneous talks of unschooled leaders and elders."[14] When the missionaries began to realize their error they founded schools, but the dominating motive was the training of pastors. Speaking on the Christian training of the Korean Christian, Dr. A. J. Brown said:

"If there are any other Christians in the world who are more familiar with the Scriptures than the Koran Christians, I have not had the pleasure of meeting them."[15]

However, a Korean critic, pointing out the ignorance of the church workers, declared:

"Let us consider, for a moment, the condition that obtains in the Presbyterian Church for training her pastors. A man who has not even the common school grade of education goes to a training class for three months a year for five years. He reads through the Old and New Testaments once or twice in these fifteen months. Then he is qualified to stand in the pulpit, a holy man to be the spiritual guide of the multitude. No wonder he is ignorant."[16]

It must, however, quickly be added that the percentage of literacy and the level of education of the Christians were higher than that of the surrounding non-Christian community

14 A. J. Brown, *Report of a Visitation of the Korea Mission* (1901), p. 19.

15 A. J. Brown, *Report of a Second Visit to China, Japan, and Korea* (1909), pp. 91, 92.

16 Yi Kwang Su, *op. cit.* p. 255.

and that for years the Christian schools were better than anything else to be found in the country.

These three features, the inherent conservatism of the Church, the want of the social application of Christianity, and the low intellectual standard of the Korean Christians, were not the outstanding characteristics of the Korean Church; they were rather transitory defects. As the people advance toward a higher standard of intellectual attainment, these defects are gradually eliminated. However, it is safe to assert that when the Korean Church is compared with her sister churches in India, China, and Japan, these three defects still remain.

Francis Bacon once said: "If man does not change things for the better, Time, the great innovater, will change them for the worse." When Korea was opened to the West, the greatest change wrought in the life of the people was the introduction of Christianity. Evangelical Christianity entered the country when it was still an independent nation, but after twenty-five years of the vigorous prosecution of Christian propaganda the people failed to maintain their national sovereignty. Shall we, as did Gibbon of the fall of the Roman Empire, attribute the cause of the passing of the ancient kingdom to Christianity? Whatever may have been the cause of the fall of the Roman Empire, Christianity was not responsible for the termination of the political independence of Korea, for Annexation in 1910 was only the culmination of the long processes of decay originating before the opening of the country. On the contrary, the intercourse with the West awakened the nation to a new life purpose. The infusion of Christian ideals gave to it a new birth. The national humiliation and foreign oppression were only birthpangs. To the regenerated Christian community the future belongs. The persistently active minority have already made themselves felt among their non-Christian neighbors. The rebirth of a nation in the heart of the Orient, the rousing to new leadership of a people once spiritually leaders in the Far East, who through the fire of a new zeal are impelled to proclaim to others their new faith, is the story of Christian expansion in Korea.

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APPENDIX A

LEGATION OF THE U. S.
SEOUL, KOREA.
JANY. 1885.

SIR :

I have the honor to submit herewith for the consideration of His Majesty's government, a proposal for founding a Hospital in Seoul by Mr. H. N. Allen, an American physician in attendance upon the Legation.

The proposal as planned by Dr. Allen would seem to be highly commendable as being directed through practical channels and purely unselfish motives towards benefitting His Majesty's subjects.

I need not add any commendatory remark as to the character and ability of Doctor Allen, as those have been so amply attested to in his late very successful practice in Seoul.

In requesting the favorable consideration of Doctor Allen's scheme, I would assure your Excellency that it may be regarded for the well being of the people of Korea by those of the Uuited States.

I am, Sir,
Your very obedient servant,
GEORGE C. FOULK.

To His Excellency
CHO PIUNG HO
President of the Foreign Office

Proposal for founding a Hospital for the Government of His Majesty, the King of Korea, in Seoul.

Since the recent trouble, I have been called upon by many Corean people to remove bullets and repair injuries done by firearms, as also to treat people sick by premature causes.

I have done what I could. But many of these people lived at a distance from my place, which prevented my attending them owing to my time being taken up with His Excellency Min Yong Ik, and the wounded Chinese soldiers. In a few cases the patients were rich and hired rooms near my place,

so that I could see them daily. Many of the poor ones had to be turned away for lack of proper facilities.

As an American citizen, I would be glad to do all I can for the Corean people, and if the government would grant me a few facilities, I think they would be amply repaid by having their sick cared for according to Western science and by having a place for wounded soldiers to be attended to.

Also it would be the means of instructing young men in Western medical and sanitary science.

Every American city has one or more hospitals. Seoul should have one and could have one at a small expense.

I am willing to take charge of one under the care of the Government, and not charge for my services. All that would be necessary would be to provide a large Corean house in a healthy locality, with an annual appropriation for running expenses, which would include light and fire, men to act as assistant nurses and coolies; food for such patients as are too poor to buy their own food, and about $300.00 for drugs.

Should this be granted, I could promise to have another American doctor here in six months, and we would work together without pay, drawing our living from a benevolent society in America that at present supports hospitals in Pekin, Tientsin, Shanghai, Canton, and other Chinese cities, two of which are furnished by Li Hung Chang himself.

Should this be granted, the institution could be called, "His Corean Majesty's Hospital", and it would certainly be gratifying to His Majesty to see his people cared for properly in their distress, while it would undoubtedly still further endear the people to their Monarch, and elevate them in many ways.

Signed—H. N. ALLEN, M. D.

APPENDIX B

The Declaration of Principle and Motto of the Corean Itinerant Mission.

Motto.—"Occupy till I come."

Principle. "In Corea millions of human souls are in pressing need of the Gospel, and thus far the vast majority of the people have been wholly unreached by any herald of the Cross. For these centuries, generation after generation has perished without the knowledge of Christ.

"The present missionary methods and agencies employed are so plainly inadequate to supply this need that, unless some new or additional measures are adopted, it is a hopeless task to attempt to overtake this appalling destitution.

"Without any interference with the work of other societies and missionaries now on the field, there is both an open door and ample room for some supplementary effort, especially directed toward the immediate preaching of the Gospel throughout Corea. This is the great object of the Corean Itinerant Mission. It is to be interdenominational in character, evangelistic in spirit, and aggressive in method, not building on any other man's foundation, but pressing into the regions beyond and aiming to preach the Gospel to every creature.

"God seems in our day to be leading His Church to greatly multiply both gifts and workers. In answer to united prayers to the Lord of the harvest that He would thrust forth laborers into His harvest, hundreds of men and women are being made ready to undertake the work of evangelization where as yet Christ is not named. Many of them cannot conform to any fixed and uniform educational standard, and will be shut out from the mission field if they are required to prepare by the usual full course of study. And yet they give evidence that by the Holy Spirit's teaching they have been qualified to sow the seed of the Kingdom.

"Another of the signs of the times is found in the signal blessing which God has granted to Gospel witness and work

done in the name of Jesus, in simple faith, in supreme dependence upon the Holy Spirit, and confidence that, in answer to believing prayer, all needful support will be furnished by the voluntary offerings of God's people without the necessity of direct appeal for money, or incurring debt, or of assuming obligation for any fixed amount of salary.

"These simple facts and principles serve to indicate the basis upon which the Corean Itinerant Mission is founded, and is to be carried on. Its doctrinal standards are not those of any one body of disciples exclusively, but rather those great fundamental truths embraced alike by the Reformed Church in all its branches, and forming the basis of the so-called Evangelical Alliance.

"As the prime purpose of this mission is to penetrate into the regions beyond, the territory as yet unoccupied for Christ is to be recognized as its special field. All conflict and collision with existing missionary organizations, or missionaries now employed, should be carefully avoided, and brotherly love should be cherished and active co-operation promoted. If only Christ be preached, by whomsover it be, let us rejoice.

"This mission gladly welcomes as its workers those who are highly educated. No contempt is cast upon learning and culture in seeking to make room for those not so highly qualified. But the supreme qualification sought in all candidates, and for lack of which no other can compensate, is the evidence that they have been truly born again and have been fitted by the training of the Holy Spirit to witness to Christ and to win souls. Every precaution will be taken, therefore, to insure at last a high type of spiritual character in accepted candidates; and it is thought best that those who have had no previous experience in mission work be fully accepted missionaries after two years of trial upon the field.

"Some one missionary will be asked to act as director on the field; but in the prosecution of the work important steps are to be taken only after conference and united prayer among the missionaries have brought them into unanimous accord. Any tarrying to wait upon God until His mind is

made known will be richly repaid by the confident persuasion that he is guiding in every new step. Should conflict arise through variance of opinion, the council of references at home should be consulted.

"Believing that God, rather than man, has led the way in the forming of this new mission for Corea, we commend it to the love, sympathy, and prayers of all those who hold to the inspired Word of God, who believe in the one name whereby there is salvation, who depend upon the Holy Spirit for all power in service, and who love Christ's appearing and Kingdom.

"Director: Malcolm C. Fenwick, Wonsan, Corea, Asia.
Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, Joseph R. Douglas,
Box 342, Toronto, Canada."

APPENDIX C

Territorial Partition Agreement between the Methodist Episcopal Mission and the Northern Presbyterian Mission in 1893.

1. Resolved, that we advise that as a general rule the common occupation of small cities and the districts around them, is not the most profitable way of utilizing our forces; but that open ports and towns having a population of over 5,000 shall be open for common occupation; and especially so when they are needful bases for the occupation of the regions beyond.

2. When a town of less than 5,000 inhabitants has been established as a sub-station by the missionary in charge of the district (sub-station being understood to be a place where inquirers or Christians regularly assemble for worship on the Lord's Day, or a place visited not less than four times a year, two visits at least to be made by the foreign missionary in person) it should be considered as occupied, and we deem it inadvisable for another Mission to begin work there; but the discontinuance of work for six months shall leave it an open field.

3. That societies wishing to begin new work or to extend, be strongly recommended to take into consideration unoccupied territory, so as to speedily cover the whole field.

4. We recognize the inherent rights of every church member to transfer his membership to another denomination; but persons whose names are on the records of a church as members or candidates, shall not be received by another church without a letter of recommendation from those in charge.

5. That we mutually respect the acts of discipline of the various churches.

6. Helpers, students and assistants in any department of the work shall not be received in any capacity whatever by another Mission without the written consent of the person to whom they are responsible.

7. That, as a general rule, books shall be sold and not given, and that we should have uniformity of prices.

APPENDIX D

Rules Governing the Training Class System.

1. The Mission shall provide for theological instruction to be given to its various native agents in summer or winter theological classes, and also, when the time arrives, for more systematic and thorough instruction by a theological school.

2. The winter or summer theological class or classes of the mission shall be placed under the care of a member or members of the mission.

3. The object of these theological classes shall be to fit the various native agents for their work, but more especially to prepare natives to become self-supporting teachers of others, without removing them from their various callings.

4. The various members of the mission having charge of the sub-stations shall invite the leaders, helpers, and native agents, and others whom they see fit, to attend these classes nearest to their respective sub-stations, and report those who will attend to the leaders of the class.

5. Except under special circumstances, only those invited by a member of the mission shall be allowed to attend these classes.

6. The work required of the members of the class shall be such that all idlers or others with any personal motives in view shall find it more agreeable to leave the class.

7. It shall be the rule of the mission to simply provide for the entertainment of the members of this class while in attendance upon its duties, and only in exceptional cases shall any portion of the expenses of returning home be paid by the mission.

APPENDIX E

Agreement between the Korean Government and the Paichai College.

1. The Korean Government will send to this college two hundred students who are to observe strictly all the rules and regulations of the institution.

2. The students are to receive instruction in the English language, geography, arithmetic, the sciences, and in such other studies as may be determined on by the teachers in charge of the school.

3. The reception and dismissal, and discipline of the students are entirely entrusted to the foreign teachers.

4. Beginning with the first day of the second moon, the Finance Department will transmit $ 200 to the Board of Education, whence it is to be sent to the college for books, stationery, etc., for the pupils. Should the full number of students (200) fail to attend from the beginning, the sum of $ 50 is to be paid at once. When the number reaches 50, then an additional $ 10 is to be added for every 10 students, up to the full quota. Japanese silver or paper money may be sent at the option of the government.

5. On the last day of every month a correct and complete list of the students in attendance for the month is to be

sent to the Foreign Department, and from thence to the Board of Education.

6. Students, unless dismissed for inability to pursue the course of study or for violating the rules and regulations, must remain in the college for a period of three years.

7. Foreign teachers, whether three or four are required to teach the 200 students, are not to receive remuneration. One Korean tutor is to be employed for every 50 students. The selection of tutors to be made by foreign teachers. The tutor is to receive from the Korean Government a salary of $ 20 a month for the first year, and an additional $ 5 a month for each succeeding years. Should the tutor fail to attend diligently to the work, he shall be discouraged by the government.

8. Five copies of this agreement are to be made: one copy each to be placed with the Board of Education, the Foreign Department, the Finance Department, the United States Legation, and with the authorities of the school.

Done in the 504th (year) of the Dynasty, first moon, twenty-sixth day, by

HYEN CHAI
Secretary, Foreign Department,

who, having received authority from the Foreign Department, entered into this agreement.

On behalf of the Pai Chai College.....
Seoul, February 16, 1895.

APPENDIX F

Committee on Church Government

To the Council :—We Recommend.

1. That when there shall be at least twelve (12) churches with one or more ordained Elders each and at least three (3) Koreans whom the Council deems ready for ordination to the Ministry, a Presbytery shall be organized under the following provisions :—

a. This Presbytery shall be constituted of the

ordained Missionaries (Ministers and Elders) of the Presbyterian Missions in Korea and of one representative Elder from each organized church.

b. The Presbytery when so constituted shall be the Supreme Ecclesiastical Court of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, until such time as in the exercise of its own authority the Church constitutes a Synod, or General Assembly.

c. The Missionaries who are members of this Presbytery shall be members of the same only so far as concerns the rights and privileges of voting and participating in all its proceedings but ecclesiastically they shall be subject to the authority and discipline of their respective home Churches, retaining their full ecclesiastical connection with those Churches.

d. The relation of the Missionaries as members of the Korean Church shall continue until such time as by an affirmative vote of ⅔ of their number withdrawal from this relation shall be deemed advisable.

2. Since the Presbytery when constituted as an independent ecclesiastical body has full authority to adopt its own rules for ordination of Ministers, organization of Churches and all other ecclesiastical acts, we recommend,

a. The appointment of a committee to prepare such Standards as it deems best, these to be reported to the Council for adoption and then presented to the Presbytery for its consideration when a Presbytery is constituted.

b. The appointment of a committee to prepare Presbyterial Laws and By-Laws, these to be reported to the Council for adoption and then presented to the Presbytery for its consideration when a Presbytery is constituted.

3. That each Mission request its Board of Missions, Executive Committee or Ecclesiastical Court having jurisdiction over it, for liberty to co-operate in the organization of an independent Korean Presbyterian Church.

Respectfully Submitted,

For the American Presbyterian Church	(North)	S. A. Moffett F. S. Miller
,, ,, ,, ,,	,, (South)	L. B. Tate
,, ,, Australian ,,	,,	G. Engel
,, ,, Canadian ,,	,,	W. R. Foote

Seoul, Sept. 17, 1902.

INDEX

A

Abdication of Emperor . . . 402
Adams, J. E. . . . 196, 274, 383
Adamson, A. 273
Ahn Chung Keun 348
Aim of Missions 1
Alexander, C. 372
Alexeieff-Kir 254
Allen, H. N. 76, 77. 78, 88, 89, 90, 103-7, 112, 113, 126, 128, 129, 155, 196,—recall 259, 327, 342
Allen, Catherine, M. D. . . 321
Alphabet, Korean . . . 15, 124
America 99, 138
American Adviser 153
,, Diplomacy 258
,, Engineers 153
,, Missionaries . . . 105
,, Missionary Development 349
,, Teachers 153
American Baptist Union . . 184
American Bible Society 66, 71, 105, 143, 242, 399
American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions 64, 76, 84, 104
American Change d'affairs 96, 104, 106
American Consul 392
American Expedition to Korea 55
American Inter-Seminary Alliance 88
American Intervention, Hope for 260
American-Korean Treaty 94
American Legation 89, 104, 112, 114, 147, 229, 233, 234, 244. Closing of 260
American Minister 89, 95, 106. 118, 126, 146, 185, 196, 234, 244 Withdrawal of 260, 342
American Tract Society . . 138
Amur, the 34
Ancestor Worship 22, 28, 30, 148-9, 209
Anglican Mission, . 174 231, 277
Anglo-Chinese College, (Shanghai) 186
Anglo-Saxons 10
Anglo-Japanese Alliance 256, 259
Anglo-Korean School, (Songdo) 380
Anglo-Korean Treaty . 68, 94, 108
Anna Davis Industrial Shops . 308
Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, the 26
Annexation 3, 14, 349
Annual Envoy to Peking . . 27
Annual Embassy 29
"Anpangs" 151
Anti-Christian Activities 32, 149, 247, 400
Anti-Foreign Edict 37, 126, 154, 248
Anti-Russian Alliance . . . 35
Aogai Church 115, 192
Appenzeller, H. G., Rev. 75, 100, (Biographical Sketch 102,) 120, 126, 141, 146, 155, 168, 192, 197, 199, 218, 219, 221, 236, 240, 243, 270, 296, 328, 332
Archbishop of Canterbury . 81
Arthur, President (U. S. A.). 73
Asakawa, K. 338
Asiatic Colera 145, 232
Assassination of Queen Min . 164
,, of Ito 348
,, of Stevens, D. W. 348
Assimilation Policy 408
Australia 176
Australian Church, the . 177, 188
Mission 189,—Medical Work . . . 322
Auxilary Bodies 395
Avison, O. R., M. D. 225, 228, 230, 232, 233, 321, 323

B

Baby Riots 148
Bacon, F. 413
Bailey, G. W. 396
Baldock, E. H. 231, 321
Baldwin Memorial Chapel, the 192
Bangkok 31
Baptism, the first, 129, Early administration of . . 130 132, 213
Baptist Church 181, 183
Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, the 64, 71
Barrett, Miss M. B. 301
Barrett, W. M. 275
Basil's Bay 5, 39, 203
Beck, S. A. 399
Becker, A. L. . 304, 310, 311, 358
Belgium 61
Bell, E. 275, 276
Bellevue Hospital Medical College 172
Bethel Church 129
Bible Committee 141, 333
,, Conference for Missionaries 354, 365

,, Institutes 136, 290, 388, 389
Bible Societies 48, 52, 71, 72, 142, 242, 333, 398
Bible Study 289, 298, 335, 364, 393
Bible Training Class 357, 358, 372, 388, 289
Bible Translation 140, 142, 240, 331, 332
Bible Translators 303, 333,
Permanent Committee of 141, 239
Bible Women 334
Bible Work 239, 398
Bishop, I. B. 5, 361
Bishop for Korea and Japan . 295
Blackstone, M. E. 118
Blair, W. N. 356
Blind, School for . . . 312, 389
Board of Directors of Y.M.C.A. 395
Board of Foreign Affairs (of Korea) 96
Board of Foreign Missions of M. E. Church . 85, 87, 107, 113
Board of Foreign Missions of Presby. Church. U. S. A. 76, 84, 85, 99, 100, 110, 114, 118, 196, 224, 330
Board of Official Translators, (of Bible) 239, 240, 398
Boston University 3
Boxer Movement 258, 278, 280, 342
Brainerd, D. 64
British and Foreign Bible Society 49, 71, 130, 140, 143, 144, 242, 248, 273, 399
British College Christian Union 167
British Consul 392
British Legation 89, 244
Brockman, Fletcher 326
Brown A. J. 254, 279, 284, 292, 305, 337, 343, 344, 353, 381 390
Brown, Hugh M. . . . 192, 229
Brown, J. M. 254, 327
Bruen, H. M. 275
Brugiere, B. 31, 98
Bryant, F. 50. 143, 144
Buddhism 4, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 162, 246
Buffer State 257
Bunker, D. A. 118, 219, 297, 299, 303, 328, 366, 368
Busteed, J. B. 230
Butcher Class 193, 269

C

Cable, E. M. . . . 315, 339, 399
Calvanism 376
Campbell, Josephine P . 301, 386
Canadians 193
Canadian Colleges' Mission 354, See also Toronto Univ. Y.M.C.A.
Canadian Presby. Church 182, 265
Canadian Presby. Mission 195, 256, 268, 292, 335
Carolina Institute . . . 301, 386
Caroline Ladd Memorial Hospital 320
Catechumen 214
Catholics 196, ...History of 26-38 Missions of 134, 161 Persecutions of 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 38. See also Roman Catholics
Cecil, Lord 357, 360
Centennial Commission of Layman 349
Central Church of Pyeng Yang 375
Cespedis, G. 25
Chairyung . 245, 269, 320, 364, 391
Chakol 272
Chang An (Hsi An Fu) . . . 20
Changing Aspects of Christianity 62, 63
Chang Yen Church 216. See also Sorai
Chapman-Alexander Meetings 372
Characteristics of the Korean people 8-11
Chase, Louise 386
Chase, Miss M. M. 263
Chasten, J. H. 32
Check in Korea 148
Chemulpo 5, 6, 94, 96, 97, 104, 109, 112, 116, 129, 136, 142, 147, 172, 196, 215, 231. 256, 277, 294
China and the Chinese 4, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 20, 34, 58, 59, 91, 131, 143, 149, 158, 163, 172, 198, 202, 223, 231, 241, 249, 258, 336, 348
China-Japanese War 243 See also Sino-Japanese War
China Inland Mission . 72, 181
China Mission Conference 185, 187
Chinese Bible . . . 140, 177, 219
,, Christian Soldier . . 89
,, Classics 124
,, Literary Style . . . 236
,, Literature 235
Chinese Missionaries . . 78, 81, 195
Chinese taught in Schools 220, 300
Chinju 324
Chinnampo 5, 6, 263
Choi Chi Won 20, 161
Choi Kwan Heul 377
Colera Epidemic . . . 145, 232
Choryang,-Fusan . . . 177. 273
Chosen Christian College 305, 322
Chosun or Chosen . . 11, 12, 20, 61

Christian Advocate, the . . 328
Christian Commonwealth . . 64
Christian Expansion 403
Christian Flag 182
Christian Literature 72, 124, 137, 140, 151, 234, 236,.....burning of 147 Conference on 235 Printing of 237
Christian Nations 29, 30
Christian News, the 236, 328, 397
Chu Hsi 22
Chung Chyong Province 5, 39, 177, 181, 184, 189, 190, 268
Chung Dong 115, 192, 215, 230 Anglican Church at 277 Presbyterian Church at 269
Chung Du Won 27
Chungju . . . 170, 203, 275, 322
Chung Yak Chun 27
Chun-la Province . . . 5, 189, 275
Church of England Mission 80, 81, 115, 173, 174, 175, 188, 231
Church, growth of 346
Church Membership Requirments 211, 214
Church Missionary Society, the 78-80. 263
Church and Nation, the . . 404
Church Organization 207, 209, 374
Civil War, (U.S.A.) 65, 160, 177, 178
Clarendon Street Baptist Church (Boston) 183
Clique Spirit 236, 237
Climate of Korea 5, 187
Coast Line of Korea 6
Collegiate Plan 269
Collyer, C. T. 272, 334
Colporteur 47, 50, 72, 129, 130, 142, 198, 242, 261, 334
Comity 187, 369
Commission for Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World 2, 408
Commissioner of Customs . . 254
Commissioner of Education of the U. S. A. 118
Committee on Memorials . . 374
Committee of Reference and Arbitration 350
Conference of Foreign Mission Boards 350
Confessions of T. H. Yun 156, 157
Confession of Faith 376
Conflict with the Roman Catholics 246
Confucianism 14, 17, 20, 23, 30, 162, 248 249, 261
Conservative Party . . 150, 156
Constitutional Form of Government 257
Coversion in Korean Valleys in Manchuria 47, 48
Conversion of the Korean Students in Japan 69, 71
Cook, Captain 24
Corea, History, Manners and Customs 45
"Corean Catechism" . . . 234
Corean Itinerant Mission, the 181, 190, 211
Coreans, 96 See also Korea and Koreans
Corfe, Bishop 81, 277
Corsica 180
Council of Ephesus, the . . 19
Council of Missions Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government, the 188, 191, 208, 210, 292, 335
Country, 4 See also Korea
Court Physcian 113
Cram, W. G.. . . . . 361, 380
Crown Prince 348. 395
Currell, Hugh, M. D. . . . 323
Cutler, Mary, M. D. 230, 320, 366
Czar, 159 See also Tsar

D

Dalhousie College 181
Dallet, Ch.. 26
Daniels, T. H., M. D. . . . 322
Daveluy, A. N. 33
Davies, J. H. 80, 176, 177, 181, 188, 195, 273
Davies, Miss M. T. 176
Davis, G. T. B. . . . 372, 394
Davis, Miss L. 179
Davis, Samuel 308
Deer Island 254
Deming, C. S. 366
Denmark 61
Dennett, Tyler . . . 53-55, 160
Denny, O. N. 159
Department of Education 165, 219
Department of Foreign Affars 348
de Speyer 254
Diamond Mountains, the . . 5
Dictionaries
English-Korean . . . 135, 189
Korean-English 135
Korean-French 137
Dinwoddie, Miss 195
Discipline . . 209, 215, 211, 213
Dispensaries
Anglican 231
East Gate 320
Government Hospital . . . 109
Sang Dong 192

Division of Territory 189, 190, 264, 267, 365, 369
Dixon, R. B. 8
Doctors in Medicine and Surgery 387
Dong Hyen (Kurigai) . . . 111
Doré H. 17, 18
Doty Miss S. A. . . 123, 227, 301
Douthwaite, A. W. 72
Drew, A. D., M. D. . . 170, 203
Drew Seminary, the 100
Dutch Reformed Church, . . 100
Dutch East India Company, the 25

E

East Gate Dispensary . 116, 320
Easter 104, 129
Ecclesiastical Institutionalism 37
Edinburgh Conference 1910, 2, 83, 349, 408
Edmunds, Miss M. J. . 325, 387
Educational Association . . 314
Education, beginning of Modern 117
Educational Committee 313, 314, 392
Educational Department . . 297
Educational Influence of Missions 152
Educational Problems . 124, 125
Educational Revolution . . . 378
Educational Work 217, 221, 225, 378
Aims 297, 299 Curriculum 297, 302, 307 Government Requirements for 314 Industrial 379 in Northwest 304 for boys 296, 302 for girls 300, 301, 359, 396, Primary 306 Secondary 306, 307, 309, 317 Medical 307 Methods 219
Edwards, Jonathan 64
Effect on Environment . 152, 154
Effect on Christianity . 154, 155
Eclecticism 23
Ella Thing Memorial Mission 169, 183
Ellers, Miss Annie (110, 123, 154 See also Mrs. D. A. Bunker
Ellinwood, F. F. . 75, 76, 167, 258
Ellis, W. T. 353
Ellmer, Miss A. 184
Emeute, December, 1884. . 91, 94, 106, 156, 158
Emperor of Korea . . 347, 348
Enabling Act 295
England 138
Engle, G. 274
English, teaching of 66, 101, 120, 125, 151 in Schools 297, 299, 300
Episcopal Residence 374
Epworth League . . . 167, 339
Ernsberger, E., M. D. . . . 320
Ethnic Problems 7, 8
Euiju 131, 144, 169, 171, 190, 198, 201
Evangelical Church, proposed 368
Evangelical Council 368
Evangelical Movement in America 63
Evangelism 286, 290
Evangelistic Work 126, 133, 193, 364
In Central Korea 268, 271, 272, 273 In Country 193 In Seoul 192 In Southeast 195. 273, 274 In Northeast 197, 264, 265, 266, 267 In Northwest 198, 199, 261-264 In Southwest 196, 202, 203, 275 In West 193, 277 Methods 127, 128 Revival 364
Ewha Girls' School 118, 119, 120, 217, 300, 386 (or Ewha Haktang)
Exploration of Field . . . 167-170
Extraterritoriality 61
Extraterritorial rights of Missionaries 342, 392

F

Fawcett, Miss M. 177
Federal Council, the 329
Fellowship Union (Australia) 176
Fenwick, M. C. 180, 181, 185, 193, 198, 211
Ferreol, J. J. 33
Feudal Principles 62
Field Day Exercises 316
Fifty Helps to the Korean Language 237
First Protestant Baptism . . 126
First Corean Christian . 128, 129
First Presbyterian Church in Seoul 132
First Quarterly Conference . 130
Follwell, E. D. 230, 320
Fontainebleau 31
Foochow 79
Foote, L. H. 73, 89, 105, 106, 107
Foote, W. R. 266
Foreign Missions Interest among young people 167
Foreign Mission Work of Korean Church 376-377
Foreign Policy of Korea . . 54
Foreign Relations
With China 54, 58, 59, 93, 158, 163, 336
With France 54, 69, 254

With Japan 57, 58, 92, 158, 163, 164, 254, 338, 343, 356
With Russia 159, 165, 254
With the U. S. A. 55, 59, 61, 234, 258, 336
Foreign Rule 403
Forsythe, W. H., M. D. 322, 324
Foster, Bishop R. S. 190
Foulk, G. C. 96, 97, 106, 107, 109
Fowler, Bishop C. H. . . . 103
Fox, John 399
Franco-Chinese War 91
Franco-Korean Treaty . . . 108
Franco-Russian Schemes 253, 254
Franch Catholics 26, 54, 68, 69, 89, 255
French Expedition to Korea 34, 44, 54, 55, 68
French Imperialism 38
French Legation 146
French Revolution 31
French Syndicate 253
Frey, Miss L. . . . 217, 218, 300
Frontierized Christianity . . 63
Frontier Revivalism 166
Fusan 142, 168, 177, 179, 189, 196, 223, 227, 229, 256, 274, 304, 394
Fusanchin 274

G

Gale, J. S. 132, 135 169, 177, 179, 189, 193, 195, 197, 209, 235, 237, 238, 240, 265, 302, 327, 372, 388, 397, 398
Gamble, D. D. 386
Gardeline, Amanda 183
General Assembly of the Korean Presby. Church 377
General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Canada . 265
General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. . 293
General Committee of Foreign Missions 352
General Conference of the M. E. Church 295, 352
General Council of Evangelical Missions . . 368, 369, 371, 391
"General Sherman" . . 45, 55, 199
Geographical Discoveries, motives of 24
Geographical Expansion of America 64
Gerdine, J. L. 360
German Foreign Advisor . . 94
Gifford, D. L. 123
Gilford, D. L. 217, 221
Gillett, P. L. 298, 326
Gilmore, G. W. 118
Girls' School, Presbyterian 123, 226
God, idea of 22
"Good Office" 61, 62
Goodrich, J. K. 10
Good Samaritan Hospital . . 115
Goodsell, Bishop R. G. . . . 197
Gordon, A. J. 183
Gordon, Madam E. A. . . . 19
Goucher, J. F. 73, 74
Govea, Bishop A. 28
Government Hospital 109, 110, 112, 150, 228, 322
Government Medical School . 120
Government and Missions 153, 158, 336
Government School . . 118, 131
Governor-General 349
Granston, Bishop 273
"Great Awakening" . . 63, 64
Great Britain and Japan 254, 256
"Great Sacred Cannon" . . 162
Great Vehicle, the 19
Grierson, R. G., M.D. 195, 266, 319, 352
Griffith, W. E. 68
Guest Room, see "Sarang"
Gulf of Peter the Great 5
Gutzlaff, Charles . . . 38, 41, 52

H

Haas, Joseph 77
Hague Conference 348
Haiju 179, 271—Hospital 394
Halifax T. E. 117
Hall Memorial 230, 320
Hall, W.J., M.D. 172, 201, 202, 230, 243, 320
Hall, Mrs. Rosetta, M. D. 173, 201 230, 232, 312, 324, 389 See also Rosetta Sherwood
Hamel Hendrick 25, 26
Hamill, H. M. 396
Ham Kyeng Province 169, 198, 265
Hamy, E. M. 7
Hanabusa 57
Han-la-San 4, 5
Han River 5, 190
Hans 7, 8
Han Suk Chin . . . 144, 199, 377
Han Yang, See Seoul
Hardie, R. A., M. D. 179, 180, 195, 198, 265, 272, 320, 354, 360
Harris, Bishop, M. C. 295, 360, 366, 374, 400, 403
Hartford Theological Seminary 87
Hawaii, Emigration to 271 Petition from Korean in . 260, 339
Hayden, Mary E. 123

Haystack Group 63
Hellenized Christianity . . . 62
Hendrix, Bishop E. A. . 185, 187
Hepburn, J. C. 101, 141
Hermit Kingdom 54, 73, 100
See also Korea
Heron, J. H ; M. D. 76, 109, 113, 126, 165, 188 228
Hideyoshi Invasion . . 13, 15, 24
Hierarchy 28
Hilman, Mary R. 366
Hirst, J. M., M D. 324
History, Defination 1—of Korea 11-16-of the Catholic Missions 26-39 - of Missions 1, 2
Holdcroft, J. G. 287
Holland 25
Home Bases of Missions . . 83
Home Department 232
Hong Dus, (the Red heads) . 14
Hong Young Sik 91
Horton L. S., M. D. 111 See also Mrs. H. G. Underwood
Hospital, aims of 232
Hospital of St. Matthews . . 231
Hospital, proposal to the Government 96 establishment of 97, 98 101, 109, 114, 228 Founding of M. E. Mission 114, 117 M. E Women's 115 Severance 321, 325
Hounshell, C.G. 297, 298, 299, 303, 379
Howard, Miss M., M. D. . . 115
Hugh O'Niel Jr. Academy . . 384
Hugh O'Niel Dispensary . . 229
Hulbert, H. B. 10, 119, 131, 132, 192, 227, 229, 233, 237, 249, 260
Huntington, E. 10
Hunt, W. B. 269
Hymnology 238, 239

I

Imperialism 257
Independence Club, the 220, 257
Independence Arch 220
Independence of Korea . 161, 346
Independent, the 330
Independentists 257
Independent Missions . 179. 183
Indigenization 152
India 176, 274, 288 revivals in—350. —Relief Fund 216, 280
Industrial Education 221, 308, 379, 382, in Songdo, 280
Ingold Mattie, M. D. . . . 322
Inouye. 163
Inter-Collegiate Y. M. C. A. . 88
Interdict of 1888 . . 145, 146, 148
Inter-Seminary Alliance . 88, 99
Inter-Seminary Convention . 87
Institutional Philanthropy . . 153
"Iona of Korea" 278 See Kangwha
Irvin, C. H., M. D. . 196, 229, 322
Irvin, Mrs. Bertha K. . 227, 286
Itineration 131, 151, 168, 170, 217, 287
Ito, Marquis Hirobumi 9, 93, 347, 348, 395, 400
Ivy Memorial Hospital . . . 394

J

Jaisohn, P. 220, 285 See Soh Chai Pil
Japan 4, 13, 15, 101, 107, 150, treaty with China, 34
Japan and Russia 252-254, Japan and Korean Revolution, 92, Japan's attitude toward Korea 347, Japan's Mainland Policy 255, Japan and Great Britain 256, Japan's Special Interest in Korea 254
Japanese
Ascendency in Korea 226, Advance in Korea 57, 58, Japanese and Education in Korea 394,—Christian Church 340, Japanese invasion 15, Korean Antagonism towards—194, 248, 334, Japanese Policy, 400, Japanese Prestige in the Orient 158,—Social Evil, 396
Japanese Protectorate . . . 314
Japan Sea 4, 5
Jacobson, Miss Anna . . . 299
Jesuit Missionaries, the first 24, 26
"Jews of Korea" 272
John D. Wells Training School for Christian Workers 304, 383 See also Presbyterian Orphanage, and Yesu Kyo Haktang
Johns Hopkins University . 324
Johnson, H. A. 355
Johnson, W. O., M. D. . 274, 342
Jones, G. H. 2, 129, 135, 168, 197, 210, 236, 238, 269, 270, 271, 327, 328, 389
Junkin Memorial Hospital . 322
Junkin, W. M. . . . 170, 178, 179

K

Kangwha Island 11, 13, 54, 55, Anglican Mission work in—277, 278, M. E. Mission in—197, 271 Yi Dong Whei's School in—315
Kang Won Province 168, 190, 265, 268, 354
Kato Kiyomasa 25

Katsura 259
Keane, A. H. 7
Ke Chei Island 256, 273
Kenmure, A. . 235, 243, 248, 334
Kennan, G. 8
Keui-ja, King . . . 11, 15, 16, 20
Keum River 5
Kil Sun Chu 360
Kim Chang Sik 202, 294
Kim Keui Pum 294
Kim Ok Kiun 74, 106
King of Korea 164, 165, 230, 233, 248, 251, 256
Knox, G. W. 60, 70, 75
Ko Ku Ryu 12, 13, 18
Komura 253
Konishi 25
Kong Ju . . . 170, 181, 184, 394
Koons, E. W. 269, 401
Korea, ancient civilization of 10-11, 12, 21, climate of 5, communications in 7, coast line of 6, crops of 5, 6, the country 4-7, history of 11-16, minerals of 6, the people of 7-11, population of 6, religions of 16-23, Russian border line of 34, success of missions in 1, 2
Korea-American Relations 61, 153
Korea Field, the 329
Korea Medical Missionary Society 395
Korea Methodist, the . . . 329
Korea Methodist Publishing House 330
Korea Mission Field, the 329, 373
Korean Alphabet 15, 124, 133, 153, 325
Korean Christians 155, 157, 248, 249, 343, 344
Korean Embassy to China . 27, 29
Korean Embassy to America 73, 81, 106, 153
Korean-English Dictionary 189, 237
Korean Government Hospital 78, 101 See also Hospital
Korean Grammar 153
Korean Grammatical Forms . 237
Korean Legation in the U.S.A. 111
Korean Minister to the U.S.A. 111
Korean Presbyterian Church . 293
"Korean Question" 259
Korean Religious Tract Society, the 138, 139, 155, 234, 235, 397
Korean Repository, the . 236, 329
Koreans in Hawaii 260
Korea Propaganda 351
Korea Review, the . 280, 329, 344
Kubilai 13
Kung, Prince 54
Kunsan or Basil's Bay 5, 6, 203, 275, 322, 394
Kurigai 111
Kwang Hei Won 97 See also the Government Hospital
Kwangju 276, 322
Kyengju 12
Kyeng Keui Province . . . 268
Kyeng Sang Province . . . 177

L

Labrador 181
Ladd, G. T. 9
Landis, E. B. 231, 277
Language Study, Helps 48, 237 Manuals 133, 134, 135, 137 Teachers 136, 143
Larger and Shorter Catechism 376
Latourette, K. S. 20
Launay, A. 26
Law Prohibiting Christianity 154, 158
Laymen's Missionary Movement 349
Leck, G. 263
Lee, Graham . . . 200, 355, 396
Lepers, work for 394
Liaotung Peninsula 256
Li Hung Chang 59, 60, 93, 98, 159, 160
Lindsey, H. H. 39, 40, 41
Literary Work 133 139, 235, 236, 327, 396, 397
Literature 134, 138, 233
Living conditions of missionaries 108, 109
Louis Philippe 34
London Daily Mail, the . 353, 407
London Missionary Society, the 199
London Times, the . . 357, 360
Longford, J. H. 26, 164
Loomis, H. . 66, 101, 105, 141, 143
Lord Amherst 39, 40
Low, F. F. 55
Lutheran League 167

M

Macao 33
Mackay, J. H. 177, 273
Maclay, R. S. 66, 70, 74, 103, 105, 150
Mahayana 19, 20
Manchuria 14, 16, 32, 104, 143, 152, 159, 169, 198, 243, 256, 261
Manchurian Invasion . . . 16
Manchus 15
Manichaeism 20
Marco Polo 13

Ma-ri-san 11
Martin, J. 80
Martyrdom 27, 33
Masanpo 6, 255, 273
Maubant, P. P. 32
McCormick, Mrs. Cyrus . . 388
McCormick Theological Seminary 171, 178
McCully, Miss E. A. 194
McCully, Miss L. 267
McCune, G. S. . . . 308, 356, 384
McCune, Mrs. G. S. 308
McGill, W., M. D. 115, 169, 198, 230, 264, 320
McKenzie, F. A. . . . 346, 353
McKenzie, W. J. 181, 193, 194, 201, 227, 265
McMillian, Miss K., M. D. . 320
McRae, D. 266, 267
McWilliams, D. W. 76
Medical Committee 323
Medical Education . . 112, 323
Medical School of Toronto University 228, 321
Medical Work 228, 230, 232, 394 College 323 objective of 318 policy of 319 response to 116, 117
Meiji Gakuin 100
Melbourne 178
Menzies, Miss B. . . 177, 195, 196
Methodist Book Concern 238, 329
Methodist Christian Advocate, the 236
Methodist Episcopal Church 103, 263, 270 the first Quarterly Conference of 130
Methodist Episcopal Church, South . . 185, 187, 271, 272, 273
M. E. Mission 73-75, 76, 102, 268
Methodist Foreign Missionary Society 86, 107, 236
Methodist Hymnal 239
M. E. Mission Policy 150, 163, 169, 213
Methodist Mission Conference 130
Methodist Mission Hospitals 114, 231, 318
Methodist Press . . . 215, 237
Methodist Publishing House . 398
Methodists 64, 73, 75, 102, 104, 114, 115, 139, 190, 268
Methods, of Evangelism 52 of Mission Work 217 of Union Work 217
Miller, E. H. . . . 302, 327, 383
Miller, F. S. . . . 222, 223, 302
Miller, Hugh 334, 346, 371, 373, 399
"Million Movement" . 371, 399
Mineral resources of Korea . 6
Min faction 57, 58, 73, 91, 94, 95
Ministry, training of Korean 204, 207, 291, 388
Min, Queen 57, 164, 233
Min Young Ik 73, 94, 95
Missionary, the first Methodist 75 the first Presbyterian 76 the first Australian 80
Missionaries 336, 337, 338, 392 status of 286 types of 354
Missionary Appeals from Japan and China 65, 69
Missionary Developments in the West 349
Missionary methods 145, 151, 217, 271, 281 See also Nevius Method
Missionary motives . 88, 101, 125
Missionary policies 149, 150, 164, 167, 168, 191, 196, 216
Missionary Movement in America . . 62, 65, 87, 88, 99
Missionary Review of the World, the 246, 262
Missionary Work of the Korean Church 316, 377
Mission Conference 295
Missions in Korea:
Australian . . . 80, 175, 273
Baptist 183
Catholic 26, 54, 146, 246, 340, 342
Canadian . 169, 195, 246, 265, 335
Chinese 78
Church of England . 173, 277
Church Missionary Society . 79
M. E. Church 73, 83, 85, 102, 150 335, 352
M. E. Church, South . 185, 336
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. . . . 170, 177, 275, 352
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. . . 75, 83, 84, 88, 149
Toronto Uni. Y. M. C. A. . 179
Miura 50, 164, 165
"Mixed Script" 242
Mode, P. G. 166
Modern Education in Korea . 2
Moffett, S. A. 169, 170, 171, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 214, 221, 227, 247, 262, 375, 390
Mokpo . . 6, 275, 322, 385, 394
Mollendorf P. G. von 94, 97, 159, 160
Mongol Invasion 13
Moody, D. L. 65, 166
Moore, Bishop D. H. . . . 294
Moore S. F. . . . 193, 246, 269
Moose, J. R. 328, 256
Moravian Movement. . . 63, 181
Morgan, E. V. 259
Morris, C. D. 263
"Most favored nation clause" 342

Motives of Converts 51, 155, 157, 343
Motives of Geographical Discoveries 24
Mott, John R. 167, 352
Murry, D. 15
Murry, W. H. 49

N

Nagasaki 49, 144
Naju 275
Naktong river 5, 231
Nam, John 35
Napoleonic Wars 31
Napoleon III 31, 54
National Bible Society of Scotland, the 43, 49, 71, 72, 140, 142, 195, 399
Nationalism 257
Nationalized Christianity . . 63
Nestorian Movement . . . 20
Nestorius 19
Neutral policy of Missionaries 401
Nevius Method 151, 204, 206, 217, 281, 282
New Brunswick Theological Seminary 88, 99
New Chwang . . . 49, 72, 198
New Hebrides 176
New Testament 140
Noble, W. A. . 192, 219, 263, 390
North Kyeng Sang Province . 274
No Tohsa 90, 91, 128
Norton, A. H., M. D. . . . 394
Nurses Association 395
Nurses Training School . 325, 281

O

Occupation of field 158
Ohlinger, F. 129, 138, 139, 201, 213, 237
O'Niel, Mrs. Hugh 384
"Open Door" policy 258
Opening of Korea, . . . 53-62
Opposition, political . . 104, 105
Oriental courtesy 408
Oriental mind 235
Orphanages, Anglican 231
Australian 273
Presbyterian Boys 121, 122, 221
Other-worldliness 410
Owen, C. C., M. D. 276

P

Pai Chai Boys' School and Pai Chai Haktang 120, 121, 218, 221, 296, 385
Paik-tu-San 4, 5
Paine, Miss J. O. 217
Pak, Esther Kim, M. D. . . . 324
Pak Marhta 35
Pak Young Hyo 81 foot note, 91, 163, 164
Pan-Pacific area 64
Pavloff, P. 255
Park College 308
Parker, Sir H. S. 68, 80
Pascoe, C. F. 174
Paton Memorial Hospital . . 323
Pauling, E. C. 183
Peace Conference at Portsmouth 260
Peace of Orient 257
Peking 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 54, 158, 278
People of Korea 7-11
Permanent Bible Committee 141, 142, 239
Permanent Executive Bible Committee 239, 243, 331, 399
Perry, Miss Jean . . . 177, 195
Persecutions 147, 149, 243, 245, 246, 247, 283, 402
of Catholics 26, 28, 29, 30 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 54, 68
Persia 283
Peter the Great, Gulf of . . 5
Philanthropic influence of missions 153
Philippines . . . 53, 160, 258, 259
Pieters, A. A. 243, 302
Pietist Movement 38, 63
Pilgrim's Progress 236
Pioneers 171, 172
Plural marriage 209, 210
Poland 390, 392
Policy of the United States 105, 106
Policies, missionary . 149, 150, 191
Political condition in Korea 127, 156
Political refugees 51, 66
Political situation . . . 314, 346
Politics and the Church . 402, 403
Politics and missionaries . . 399
Population of Korea (1925). . 6
Port Arthur 255
Port Hamilton 160
Port Nicholas 255 See also Yongampo
Post Office, the Opening of . 92
Preaching by deeds 144, 147, 232, 233
Preaching, pledges for . . . 373
Presbytery 207, 375
Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions 65, 76, 83, 84, 99, 101, 110, 114, 148, 196, 224, 269, 330
Presbyterian Boys' School 229, 296,

302, 303 See also John D. Wells Training School
Presbyterian Church, the first 132
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. 177, 178
Presbyterian Church, Victoria, Australia 175, 176, 273
Presbyterian Council 188, 208, 266, 292, 295, 335, 367, 375
Presbyterian Fellowship Union for Bible Study . 176, 177, 273
Presbyterian Hospital 116, 228, 321
Presbyterian Mission 65, 75, 78, 88, 104, 122, 190, 196, 198, 199
Presbyterian Mission policy 149, 167, 215
Presbyterian Theological Seminary 172, 291, 359
Presbyterian Woman's Union 177, 195, 273
Presiding Elders. . . . 294, 374
Preston, J. F. 178
Primary School Work 306, 313, 390
Princeton Theological Seminary 87
Pro-Chinese Party 91, 160, 161, 285, 336
Progressives . . . 156, 275, 285
Progress toward union . . . 335
Prohibition of Christianity 154, 158
Pro-Japanese 285
Pro-Russian Party . . . 160, 283
Protectorate 260
Protestant Christianity . . . 23
Protestant Evangelical Missions 239
Protestant Missionary, the first 38, 41, 88
Protestant Missions, aims of . 1, 3
Protestants 38, 69, 132, 146, 152, 198
Provincial Council of the South China Mission (C. M. S) . 78
Public Profession of Faith . . 214
Pyeng Yang 6, 11, 146, 168, 171, 172, 190, 199, 222, 224, 230, 243, 261, 262, 279, 291, 294, 304, 306, 320, 355, 402, 409

Q

Quadrennial General Conference 295, 350
Quarter Centennial. 352
Queen Min . . 56, 110, 164, 165, 233
Queen's Party 57
Quelpart. 5, 376

R

Railways. 7, 253, 256
Rainy season 5
Reactionaries . . 106, 161, 257, 336
Red Heads, (Hong Dus) . . . 14
Reform Era 163, 165, 193, 243, 247
Reid, C. F. 72, 185, 188, 380
Reid, Gilbert 67
Reid, W. T., M. D. 371
Religions of Korea 16-23
Religious Tract Society of London 138
Report on Reforms and Progress in Chosen 257 footnote
Researches into Chinese Superstitions 17
Resident General . . . 392, 395
Response to medical work 116, 117
Result of evangelistic work 203, 204
Revising Committee, (of the Bible) 141, 239
Revision of the Bible 141
Revival (of 1907). . . . 354, 362
Revivals (in America) . . . 64, 65
Revolutionary War in the U.S.A. 64
Revolutionists. . . 91, 92, 93, 158
Reynolds, W. D. 140, 170, 178, 179, 203, 204, 240, 332, 333, 398
Ricci, M. 26, 27
"Rice Christians" 155
Richard, T. 19
Righteous Army 402
Rijutei . . 70, 71, 72, 75, 140, 143
Rise of the Church in Korea, the 2
Ritson, J. H., ... 399
Rockhill, W. W. 16
Rogers, Rear Admiral . . . 55
Roman Catholics 25, 28, 145, 146, 162, 241, 246, 254, 340, 342 Church 28, 37, 254 Conflict with 246, 247 See also Catholics
Romanized Christianity . . . 62
Roosevelt's Secreet Pact with Japan 258, 259
Rosin-Nishi Agreement . . . 254
Ross, John 46, 48, 50, 55, 71, 130, 132, 134, 140, 143, 144, 169, 234, 286
Rothweiler, Miss L. C. . 217, 239
Roze Expedition. 54, 55
Rules for the Church in Korea 214, 215
Russia and the Russians 34, 35, 60, 146, 159, 234, 252, 253, 254, 255, 259, 283
Russian Greek Orthodox Church 255
Russian Legation . 165, 253, 256
Russian Minister . 165, 253, 254
Russian War Vessel . . 34, 35, 36
Russo-Japanese Agreement 253, 254
Russo-Japanese Contest. 252, 257
Russo-Japanese War 4 257, 258 264, 347
Russo-Korean Treaty 159

S

Sai Moon An Church 215
St. Andrew's Cross 167
St. George's Cross 182
St. Louis, Mo. 211
St. Matthew's Hospital . 231, 321
St. Petersburg 256
St. Peter's Hospital for Women 321
Salvation Army 396
San Francisco, Cal. 101, 103, 161, 348
Sang Dong 115, 192, 230
"Sarang" 151
Sargent, Senator A. A. . . . 59
Scotch Missionaries 134
Scotland 140
Scott James 134
Scott's Manuel 134
Scranton, W.B., M.D. 75, 103, 107, 109, 113, 115, 142, 145, 148, 155, 213, 230, 270, 367
Scranton, Mary F. 75, 103, 108, 118, 192, 270
Secondary Education 306 See also Educational Work
Secretary of Navy, (U. S. A.) 160
Sei Jong, King 14
Self-extention 216, 279, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 346, 404, 410
Self-government. . 282, 292, 407
Self-help. 121, 221, 308
Self-support 152, 191, 194, 215, 238, 278, 280, 346, 404, 408, 410
Seoul 6, 14, 94, 104, 115, 116, 142, 143, 145, 158, 159, 177, 180, 182, 228, 231, 235, 256, 257, 259, 261, 268, 272, 277, 294, 321, 327, 332
Severance Hospital 321, 325 See also Medical Work
Severance, L. H. 386
Severance Union Medical College 324, 387, 388, 394
Sex, seclusion of 192
Shamanism . . . 17, 18, 22, 23, 261
Shanghai. 33, 43, 76, 144, 185, 187
Shantung, China 282
Sharpe, C. E. 344
Sharrocks, A. M., M. D. 268, 319, 323, 384
Sherwood, Rosetta, M. D. 115 See also Mrs. R. S. Hall
Shields, Miss E. L. . . . 325, 387
Shimonoseki 255
Shufeldt, Commodore R. W. 59, 60
Shufeldt Treaty 68, 73, 100, 107, 153 See also American-Korean Treaty
Siam 31
Siberia 159 Emigration to —, 348
Silla 12, 13
Sinicisms 191
Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) 4, 93, 161, 163, 170, 182, 203, 219, 223, 242, 343, 405
Sino-Korean New Testament . 140
Sino-Korean relationships . . 16
Smith, W. E. 338, 400
Société des Missions-Étrangères, La 81
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 81, 173
Society of Brethren, the . . 64
Soh Chai Pil 91 See also Philip Jaisohn
Soh Kwang Pom. 91
Soh Sang Ryun . . 130, 143, 144
Songdo 7, 13, 14, 186, 190, 273, 320, 380
Song Duk Jo 136
Songjin 6, 385
Soon Chun 178
Sorai 130, 131, 143, 168, 179, 180, 182, 193, 215, 227, 265, 268, 279 See also Chang Yen
South Chun-la Province . . . 276
South Kyeng Sang Province . 274
Southern Methodist Mission 180, 198, 264, 271, 272
Southern Presbyterian Mission 184, 190, 202, 275, 322
Spanish-American War . . . 258
Speer Robert E. 162, 207, 213, 216, 224, 225, 248, 250
Sphere of Influence of Japan 256 of Russia 253
"Squeezing" . . 149, 245, 257, 411
Statistical tables: 270, 275, 276, 334, 338, 408, 409
Status of missionaries . . . 286
Stevens, D. W. 348
Stokes, M. B. 271
Strikes, Student. . . . 297, 384
Student Migration to Japan 66, 70
Student Volunteer Movement 65, 351
Student Y. M. C. A. 167
Sub-Station 209 footnote
Sundo 18
Sugano 50
Soh Sang Yun 46, 47. 50 See also Soh Sang Ryun
Summer Bible Conference . . 65
Suwon 246
Swallen, W. S. 169, 197, 200, 265, 307
Swearer, W. 307, 325
Syen Chyun 262, 263, 264 Academy 383 Hospital 319
Syncretism 16, 23

T

Taijong, King 14, 15
Taiku 6, 168, 274, 322, 383
Taitong River, the 5
Taiwonkun 34, 35, 36, 54, 56, 70, 91, 164
Tangun 11
Tate, L. B. . . . 170, 178, 179, 203
Tate, Miss M. 179
Telegraph line between Seoul and Fusan 256
Telegus, (India) 176
Terauchi, Count Seiki . . . 349
"Term" Question, . 239, 241, 242
Territorial Division, See Division of Territory
Theological Review, the . . . 328
Theological Seminaries . 359, 388
Theological Training . . 204, 291
Thomas, R. J. . . . 42, 45, 52, 199
Thomson, J. A. . . . 49, 50, 142
Thomson, Prof. J. A. 382
Tientsin 60, 93, 147, 159
Tientsin Convention . . . 93, 163
Tientsin Massacre 55 Footnote 147
Timber Concession to Japan 256,—to Russia 255
Tokyo . . . . . 66, 1[illegible]0. 103, 256
Tong Haks 161, 162, 163, 182, 194, 203, 247, 248, 339, 340
Toronto Tract Society 138
Toronto University Y.M.C.A. 176
Training Class System 152, 206, 288, 289, 290
Translating Committee . . . 141
Trans-Siberian Railway . . . 7
Tri-Lingual Press 139, 236, 237, 238, 330
Tsing U. 59
Truley 243
Tuman River 4, 5, 33
Turner, A. B. 327

U

Uganda 263
Underwood, H. G. . . 99, 100, 101, 113, 120, 121, 122, 130, 136, 137, 141, 142, 144, 146, 155, 168, 178, 194, 198, 211, 226, 233, 234, 235, 236, 238, 241, 283, 328, 342, 368, 397, 398
Underwood, H. H. 2 footnote 226
Underwood, Mrs. H.G. 212, 229, 230 See also Miss L. Horton
Underwood, J. T. 179
Union Board of Translators 155, 203
Union Christian College 172, 305, 358, 387
Union College Work in Pyeng Yang 309, 311
Union Hymn Book 239
Union Movements . 335, 365, 367
Union of Boys' Schools in Seoul 202, 203
Union of Methodists . . 336, 366
Union Publishing House . . 331
Union Theological Seminary 292, 388
Union Council of Missions 118, 365, 367
United Presbyterian Church in Korea, a proposal of . . . 294
United States 53, 55, 59, 65, 66, 105, 160, 161, 258, 260, 261, 347, 348 See also America

V

Van Buskirk, J., M. D. . . . 394
Vanderbilt University . 178, 185
Vladivostock 159, 255

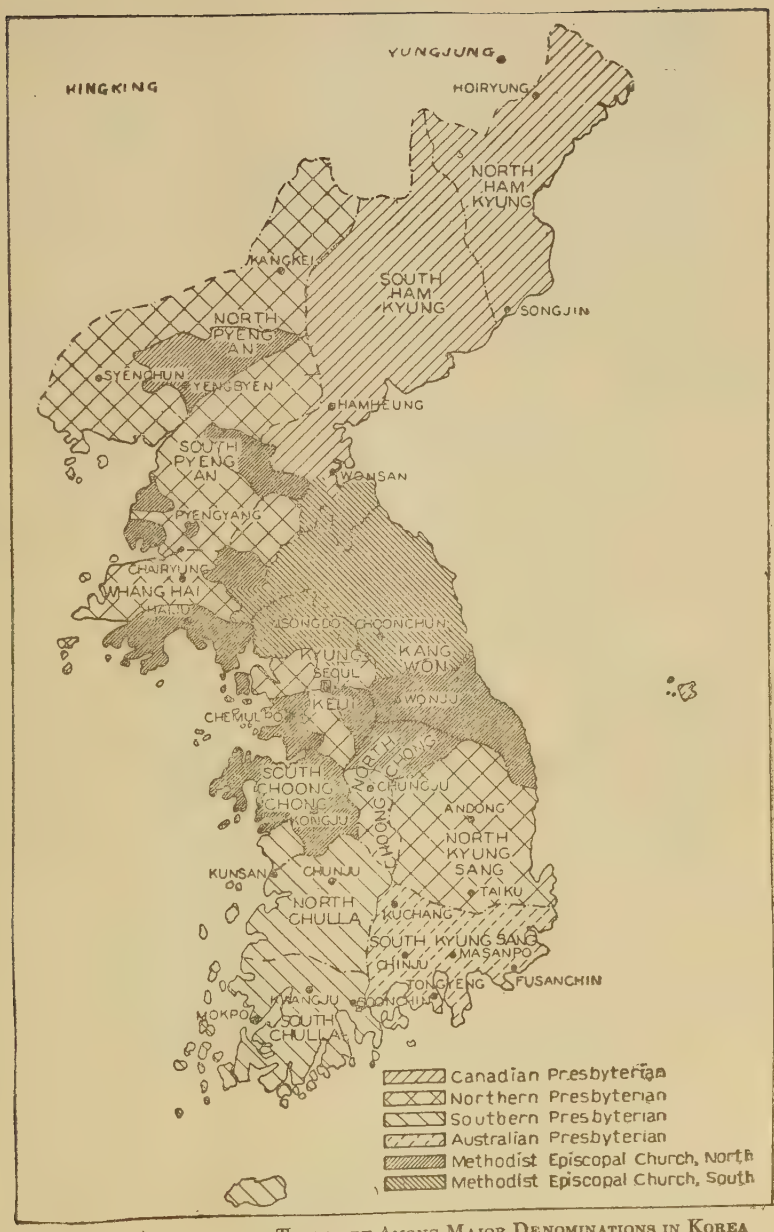
W

Waeber, C. . . . 159, 253, 254
Wambold, Miss K. . . . 227, 301
Wanamaker, John 395
Warren, Bishop H. W. . . . 129
Warship, the first iron-clad . 15
Washington, D. C. 111
Wasson, A. W. 381
Wei-Hai-Wei 278
Welbon, A. G. 281
Welch Revival 355
Wells, J. D. 303
Wells, J. H., M. D. 230, 319, 320, 323
West and Westerners 26, 117, 148, 152, 153, 155, 194, 223, 245, 247, 328, 344, 405
Westminster Confession of Faith 376
Westminster League 167
Whang Alexander 30, 38
Whanghai Province 130, 179, 190, 194, 197, 216, 245, 268, 341
White Lotus Society, the . . 30
Whiting, H. C., M. D. . 269, 320
Whiting, Miss G., M. D . . . 229
Whittemore, N. C. 199, 263, 264, 383
Wiles, I., M. D. 115, 231
Williamson, A. 45
Wolfe, Archdeacon J. R. 78, 79, 80
Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the M. E. Church 115

Women's Hospitals 115, 320, 366, 369, 388, 394
Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia 173
Wonju 168
Wonsan 6, 34, 180, 181, 185, 190, 197, 198, 209, 227, 230, 264, 319, 354
Wonsan Beach Revival . . . 359
World's Missionary Conference (1910) 2
World's Students Christian Federation 167
World's Sunday School Association 396

Y

Yale University 9, 10
Yalu River . . . 4, 5, 13, 168, 171
Yamagata-Lobanoff Agreement 253
Yang, Chun Paik 263
Yellow Sea 4, 5, 33
Yellow Turban Rebels, the . 30
Yengbyen 263
Yesu Kyo Haktang 222, 223, 224, 225, 226 See also John D. Wells Training School for Christian Workers
Yi Choon Kyeng 22
Yi Dong Whei 315
Yi Dynasty 14, 19, 34
Yi Ha Young 90
Yi I (Master Yulgok) 22
Yi Keui Poong 276
Yi Kwang Su 206
Yi Seung Hoon 27, 37
Yi Soon Sin 15
Yi Sung Kei 14
Yi Whang (Master Toi Kei) . 22
Yokohama . . . 101, 104, 105, 332
Young Men's Christian Association 60, 135, 298, 320 395 Students' 167
Yongnampo, See Port Nicholas
Young People's Missionary Movement 350, 351
Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor 65, 167
Yu, Miss D., M. D. 301
Yun, Baron, T. H. 157, 178, 186, 187, 279, 285, 379, 380, 382, 396
Yuan Shih Kai . 58, 72, 159, 163



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